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Churkin Views Baltics, Gulf War, Other Issues

LD0502220291 Moscow TASS in English 2001 GMT 5 Feb 91

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow February 5 TASS—A statement by the Icelandic foreign minister of January 23 on the situation in the Baltics and attempts "to internationalise" the question about the Baltic republics provoked a clear response from Moscow today.

Speaking at a briefing about today's meeting between Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Kvitsinskiy and the Icelandic ambassador to the USSR, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vitaliy Churkin stressed that the statement by the Icelandic minister concerning the situation in "the Baltic republics of the Soviet Union" shows its "biasness and general political trend which is not in tune with normal and, down to the latest time, friendly Soviet-Icelandic relations".

Turning to outside attempts to interfere in the Baltic affairs of the Soviet Union, Churkin said: "The political dispute between the Baltic republics and the USSR's authorities may not be settled on the basis of international law."

Churkin said that a prompt abolition of apartheid laws, as President Frederik de Klerk of South Africa said on February 1, could become an important step towards democratic transformations in South Africa.

The Soviet Union supports the decision to dismantle apartheid by political means and calls for solving other issues through negotiations, he said.

Churkin praised the willingness of the president of Iran to make additional efforts to settle the Gulf conflict and recalled the Iranian leader's clear-cut statement about the need for Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait.

He disagreed with allegations that the U.S. reaction to Iran's mediation in the settlement of the Gulf crisis was completely negative. "The U.S. side emphasised the need for the implementation of U.N. Security Council resolutions," he said.

In response to a question as to whether the Soviet leadership intends to urge the convocation of the U.N. Security Council on the Gulf crisis, Churkin said that "no such question is on the agenda so far".

Speaking on U.N. Security Council resources to direct military actions in the Gulf, Churkin said that "regrettably, U.N. structures were not prepared for such an acute crisis".

He said the U.N. military staff committee "does not have enough experience and tried-and-tested structures to duly respond to Iraq's challenge to the world community".

Churkin expressed hope that one of the lessons to be learned from the Gulf conflict is the realisation of "the need to regard in earnest the formation of these structures so that if similar situations arise in the future, the U.N. would be prepared to respond to them in full conformity with its Charter".

On transit of Soviet troops across the Polish territory, Churkin said negotiations on this complex issue were going on.

Criticizes Icelandic Ambassador

LD0502160891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1425 GMT 5 Feb

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Kanishchev and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow, 5 Feb, (TASS)—Vitaliy Churkin, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, reporting at a briefing today on today's meeting between Yuliy Kvitsinskiy, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, and the Icelandic ambassador to the USSR, stated:

"The statement by the Icelandic minister of foreign affairs on 23 January regarding the situation in the Soviet Union's Baltic republics is marked by both prejudice and by an overall political purposefulness which does not fit within the framework of normal and, until lately, friendly Soviet-Icelandic relations. Furthermore, his comments do not correspond to the common, agreed policy of participants in the Paris summit in November 1990 to overcome mutual alienation and to build qualitatively new relations between states in Europe.

"The Icelandic foreign minister presents his recent trip to the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic as practical confirmation of the implementation, in effect, of diplomatic relations with Lithuania. In accordance with this, the Icelandic Government, so it says, has now adopted a decision to begin inter-governmental talks 'on further diplomatic relations.' I would like to draw attention to the fact that the minister received a visa to enter the sovereign territory of the Soviet Union, of which the Baltic republics are a part. Icelandic-Baltic ties, and, incidentally, the ties of other republics of the federation with foreign states, can be maintained and developed only within the framework of the USSR Constitution.

"The position of the Soviet leadership regarding the clashes in the Baltic were set out in the USSR president's statement of 22 January. The Soviet Union will do everything necessary to fulfill on its territory adopted international obligations pertaining to compliance with human rights. At the same time, it will not permit, once again in strict compliance with the standards and principles of international law, any attempts at interference in its internal affairs or the internationalization of matters of relations between the center and parts of the Soviet Federation.

"Of course, in accorance with its obligations in line with the Vienna (1986) and Copenhagen (1990) CSCE documents, the Soviet side will present information about the situation regarding the exercise of civil rights in the republics of the Soviet Baltic. It is willing to do this both on a bilateral basis and within the framework of the appropriate collective meetings of the CSCE.

"At the same time, it is not clear why the questions frequently raised only relate to cases when damage has been caused to or other unlawful actions have taken place against bodies and persons who ignore USSR laws and who are in favor of confrontation and for secession without prior arrangement from the USSR? Why is it that there appears on occasion a total absence of interest in the violations of the rights and international obligations of the USSR by the local Baltic authorities and the persons supporting them? In itself such an approach, in our view, testifies to an inclination toward accepting only one-sided information, and not at all toward establishing the truth. It does not testify to a conscientious attitude to implementing the documents of the CSCE.

"The question of a political settlement to the argument between the Baltic republics and the USSR authorities cannot be addressed on the basis of international law. Attempts to draw into this internal issue of the Soviet Union one or another organ of the UN or the organization itself are devoid of foundation and will receive an appropriate assessment, and if need be, even opposition from the Soviet Union. The same applies to plans to abuse normal parliamentary and other links for the purpose of inflaming friction from outside between the leadership of the baltic republics and the federal organs."

Current EC Attitudes to Aid for USSR Examined

PM0502132191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Feb 91 Second Edition p 6

[Report by V. Peresada, PRAVDA correspondent in Brussels, reply to reader V. Sazhin's query: "...When Braking Is Inappropriate"—first two paragraphs are reader's letter]

[Text] I have come across sporadic and on the whole not very clear reports in the press that in connection with the events in Lithuania and Latvia, the Common Market and other West European organizations have decided to withhold aid to the Soviet Union and, it seems, refrain from cooperation with us in general. Is this true?
V. Sazhin, Leningrad City.

Brussels—West Europe's reaction to the dramatic events in Vilnius and Riga is not as simple and unequivocal as might appear at first glance when you study the resolutions adopted by the Common Market, and by the European legislature in particular. First, because words are one thing and deeds another, and second, because even given these resolutions there remains a fairly wide spread of opinions.

The position of the 12 member-countries of the European Community can be succinctly formulated as follows: Condemnation of the use of force, a call for all sides to show restraint and for a search for a solution of the conflict situation by means of negotiations. This position was clearly expressed in a declaration adopted 14 January at an extraordinary session of the EC Council held in Brussels. The document also says that "if the situation in the Baltic does not change, we will be forced to review our attitude to cooperation with the Soviet Union." Later, after the clashes in Riga, the Europarliament "applied the brakes" to the process of implementing a number of decisions in the sphere of aid to the USSR which were adopted at the December session of the European Council in Rome.

Let me remind readers that the heads of state and government of the EC countries agreed to give the USSR aid worth a total of almost 1.2 billion ecus—European currency units—in the next two years. The January session of the Europarliament was due to approve allocation of 500 billion ecus in the form of credit guarantees for the purchase of food, and 400 million ecus for technical assistance for the reforms being carried out in the Soviet Union. The deputies resolved to postpone examination of these questions until the situation in the Baltic is clarified, as a minimum until the February session.

Earlier the European Community Commission had postponed indefinitely an extraordinary session of a joint commission on cooperation between the USSR and the EC which was due to be held 24-25 January in Brussels.

At the same time, the Europarliament deemed it necessary to continue to grant the USSR immediate humanitarian aid in the form of food and medicines. No one has repealed the Rome decisions as such. Finally, the trade and economic agreement between the Soviet Union and the EC which covers 11 spheres continues to operate normally and free from any restrictions.

Well, how should the "slowdown measures" which have been announced be viewed all the same? On the one hand, the West Europeans' condemnation of the use of force in the Baltic republics is in itself undoubtedly understandable and justified. In our country, too, such a method has also received a principled evaluation, at the highest official level at that. Incidentally, it must be said that the USSR president's statement has in many ways helped to clarify the situation, including Moscow's position, and, it is said here, might have been even more effective in this respect if it had appeared just a few days earlier.

The conclusions which were drawn on the Baltic events in organs of the European Community, especially the Europarliament, are another matter. It is well known that in situations involving the use of military force inside any country it almost automatically adopts resolutions describing such actions as violations of human rights. The attitude to the Baltic republics in West

Europe is in any case special, an attitude that proceeds from the premise that at one time or other most West European states did not recognize them as legally belonging to the USSR. Meanwhile, statements are already being increasingly heard here to the effect that the decision to hold back aid was taken hastily, without a deep analysis of the specific causes of the very bitter conflict in the Baltic region, and in advance of the results of the investigation which would undoubtedly have allowed more precise political assessments to be made. Also being posed is the question of whether this decision is not counterproductive, whether it does not render more difficult the very thing aid is meant to support, namely—the reform process in the USSR.

Two days ago in Brussels an extraordinary session of the European legislature was held. At the session the situation in the Baltic was again discussed as one of the most important themes. The tone of speeches varied; to be honest it was primarily categorical. But this time there was more restraint, more nuances, yes, and simply more objectivity than only a week ago. Some deputies subjected the European legislature's refusal to examine as a matter of priority the question of granting the USSR credit guarantees to purchase food.

I met one eminent deputy of the Europarliament, former Belgian Foreign Minister Leo Tindemans, in the lobbies of the session. At the present time he heads the Belgian faction of Europe's Christian-Democratic Parties here. This is his opinion:

"I do not advocate any sanctions against the Soviet Union over the events in the Baltic. Back in the last session in Strasbourg I said: 'The situation there is complex; we should not rush. There is no need to create for Gorbachev and those with him who want to continue perestroyka and democratization additional difficulties via sanctions, which might allow conservative forces to intervene under the pretext that the situation is deteriorating still further. The European Community's aid should be prolonged for the sake of the success of perestroyka. This is not only in the USSR's interests, but in our interests, too.'

"Yes, we proceed from the premise that until World War II the Baltic republics were independent countries and had close ties with West Europe; therefore we make a difference between them and the other republics of the USSR. But I hope in the present circumstances that the Soviet Union will find a formula for a state structure, federative or, perhaps, otherwise, which will ensure the autonomy to the peoples of the Baltic on the one hand, and the integrity of the USSR as a state and as a Union on the other."

IZVESTIYA Investigates 1983 Downing of KAL 007

Part I

915C0008A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jan 91 Union Edition p 5

["IZVESTIYA investigation" by Andrey Illesh: "Secret of the Korean 'Boeing 747'"]

[Text] **"Seven Years After the Tragedy Over Sakhalin—Secrets of the Korean Boeing 747 Airliner Downed by Soviet Pilots"—this was the headline on material published in IZVESTIYA in issue No. 353 of last December.**

I.

As the headline makes clear, it dealt with an extremely painful subject, an appalling tragedy that had been hushed up for so many years. Some 269 persons (including a member of the U.S. Congress House of Representatives) died in the night of 1 September 1983, when a passenger aircraft of a South Korean airline company, KAL flight No. 007 on the New York-Anchorage (Alaska)-Seoul route, deviated from its flight path and entered the USSR's air space. The tragedy occurred in the vicinity of the southern part of the island of Sakhalin—it was there that the giant "Jumbo" was attacked by our fighter and was shot down by missiles fired from it.

The response to this publication were numerous calls from my colleagues and also direct and indirect participants in those far-off events. The article, prepared together with IZVESTIYA's own correspondent in New York, Aleksandr Shalnev, did not go unnoticed overseas either. With and without reference to IZVESTIYA, the most important newspapers and magazines and radio and television corporations of the United States, Japan, South Korea, France, and Canada commented on this publication. In addition, they set about presenting their own versions....

Radio France Internationale: "The Soviet newspaper IZVESTIYA has announced that it has information concerning the whereabouts of the South Korean Boeing 747 airliner shot down in 1983 by a Soviet military pilot. Publishing this information, the paper cited a high-level Soviet official, whose name is not given, who declared that Soviet Navy divers (?!—author) had discovered wreckage of the South Korean Boeing 747 airliner shot down over the Sea of Japan on 1 September 1983. The newspaper reported that wreckage of the aircraft had been discovered in the Sea of Japan at a depth of several dozen meters not far from the island of Moneron (near Sakhalin). The destruction of the South Korean aircraft in 1983 evoked the harsh condemnation of the international community.... For their part, the Soviet authorities declared that the Boeing 747 was on a reconnaissance mission. Several weeks after this tragedy, the USSR handed American and South Korean authorities certain remains that had been floating on the surface. But the Soviet authorities communicated nothing about parts of the aircraft itself having been found.... In this respect the information published by IZVESTIYA would seem extraordinarily important since the finding of parts of the aircraft's fuselage, electronic navigation instruments, and the 'black box' containing the entire information on how the flight was proceeding will finally help shed light on all the details and circumstances of this air tragedy."

THE NEW YORK TIMES (abridged): "An article that has appeared in IZVESTIYA contains the first public indication since the time of the incident that the whereabouts of the wreckage of the Boeing 747 are known. The article appeared approximately a week after Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze apologized to his South Korean colleague for what had happened.

"The concern expressed by the relatives of the victims in connection with the 'blanks' applies not only to the Soviet Union's refusal to issue an official statement on whether wreckage has been found but also to the question of whether or not the American authorities are concealing anything. The following question is being asked most often: Could the aircraft's straying off course in the direction of Soviet air space really not have been spotted by American radar operators, operators who could have notified the crew of this? Speaking about this article, an aide to Senator Kennedy observed: 'If it is true that wreckage has been found, this is startling news. If it is true (that wreckage has been found—author), there are no reasons why the Soviet Union could not immediately give a positive answer to the senators' request (four American senators, including Kennedy, had sent President Gorbachev letters containing a request for a clarification of the secrets surrounding the tragedy—author) and make available the full results of the Soviet investigation."

"I am now more hopeful that the truth will be known," the chairman of the American Association of Families of the Victims of KAL-007, who lost a daughter on the flight, said.

But the most noise, perhaps, was made by a publication of the influential U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT. We quote it also in slightly abridged form:

"Having undertaken potentially the most explosive journalistic investigation ever conducted by Soviet newspapers, IZVESTIYA is planning to make public new details concerning the destruction of the South Korean aircraft by the Soviet military in 1983. According to information from an American source who speaks Russian and who has recently returned from the Soviet Union, the articles are based on a series of interviews with witnesses and knowledgeable government officials now prepared to tell the truth. He said that, contrary to official denials, the airliner fell into the sea near the coast off the island of Moneron and was essentially intact at a depth of approximately 100 feet (which does not correspond to reality—author). In order to keep all this secret, Moscow subsequently saw to it that the bodies of the 269 deceased were exterminated in a local crematorium" (???—author).

The publication goes on to say that, "contrary to the propaganda statements of the Soviet Defense Ministry, the electronic equipment on board the aircraft showed that the aircraft was not on a reconnaissance flight and that the Korean crew had indeed wandered off course during the 6,875-mile flight. The report on the official investigation was shelved. The American source maintains that the Defense Ministry is exerting pressure and trying to prevent publication of the material and has prohibited its officials from talking to IZVESTIYA reporters. The newspaper intends, nonetheless, to publish the material at its disposal unless the Kremlin decides that it has exceeded the bounds of glasnost."

...The first thing that may be said upon reading my colleagues' reports is that IZVESTIYA has touched on a subject that, albeit old, is still hemorrhaging. What is extremely important, a subject that is still being used for selfish political purposes by the most varied forces. Attempts are already being made (at home!), incidentally, to suggest that we also would like in investigating the secret of the tragedy to "drive a wedge between the Army and the people, would like to discredit the Army in the eyes not only of our own but also the world community, would like to thereby hamper the foreign policy actions of the USSR," and so forth. Neither the one nor the other nor yet the third was our purpose. We were thinking when embarking on this investigation of only one thing, the most important thing, in our view—the people who died. Justice must be restored in respect of them.

It is for this reason that I consider myself obliged to refute one of my American colleagues. I would not wish, getting ahead of events, before, even, the reader learns of the information at the newspaper's disposal on the Korean Boeing affair, to enter into an argument and criticize my colleagues and trap them in inaccuracies, petty or important, and, at times, simply lies. Nonetheless, I have to say one thing—there can be no question of such a blasphemous act as the secret incineration of the bodies of the deceased in nonexistent crematoria. Addressing this subject, none of us has the right to forget that it is a question of 269 dead.

And of the living—their near ones and dear ones, whom the far-off tragedy tortures still.

As far as the difficulties that a journalist overcomes when working on a subject on which the majority of the material cannot be obtained from the "competent departments" or still bears the "secret" stamp are concerned, these difficulties are, I am sure, understood not only by the journalist. I am convinced that no individual reporter in one country (whether it be the USSR, South Korea or the United States) can reveal wholly and fully the complete truth of the tragedy of the Korean Boeing. I maintain this for I have been engaged in a search for material, documents, and witnesses for a long time—since practically immediately following the incident. But at that time, understandably, a journalistic investigation was not, to put it mildly, encouraged. it was necessary to operate clandestinely in the direct sense. Now people are more candid and forthcoming, and for this reason obtaining documentary confessions is easier. Nonetheless, too many questions remain unexplained.

A period may be placed at the end of this affair, evidently, only when the efforts of journalists and specialists from the most diverse countries are summed up. Most importantly, when all the official documents of the investigation of the events are published.

...So what has IZVESTIYA been able to ascertain? What new facts and documents has it obtained? This is the subject of the series of our reports.

But first let us recall how we all learned of the Boeing trespasser.

"TASS report (published in all Soviet papers of 2 September 1983):

"Overnight on 31 August an unidentified aircraft entered from the direction of the Pacific air space over the Kamchatka peninsula and subsequently violated the USSR's air space a second time over the island of Sakhalin. The aircraft was flying here without navigational lights, did not respond to inquiries, and did not enter into communication with air traffic control.

"Air defense fighters sent to intercept the intruder aircraft attempted to assist in directing it to the nearest airfield. But the intruder did not respond to signals and warnings of the Soviet fighters and continued to fly in the direction of the Sea of Japan."

That was it. No shots, no corpses.... It was even unclear as to the state to which the aircraft belonged. The impression formed from TASS' half-hints, "refutations" and "statements" was that it was a question of a spy plane, of course....

(To be continued)

"It should be noted that almost at that same time in that very region an American reconnaissance aircraft was flying at 8,000 meters," continued Kirsanov. "On the basis of a comparison of reconnaissance flights in the region of the Karaginskiy Gulf, the conclusion was reached that an aircraft of that type had flown in the direction of Kamchatka. It has not been ruled out that it might be an E-3A (AWACS) aircraft. The signatures of these aircraft on the screens of the radar stations are identical."

"So why does the Frenchman doubt the crash site of the 'Boeing?'"

"I do not know either," answered the marshal. He was silent for a moment and then made a genuinely sensational statement: "After all, the aircraft was found. They mounted an effort to retrieve the wreckage. The effort was carried out openly. They were observed by foreigners...."

Thus, a sensation! Until this time none of the Soviet specialists had admitted that the Korean "Boeing" had been found.

In reporting this I may have again gotten ahead of myself, however.

...Well, one man easily refutes the statements of many generals (but not in regard to finding the aircraft!), as well as the French expert and our own 1983 propaganda.

His name is Gennadiy Nikolayevich Osipovich. It was this man—today a lieutenant colonel in the reserves—who on the night of 31 August-1 September pressed the missile launch button.

Part II

915C0009A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
23 Jan 91 Union Edition p 5

["IZVESTIYA investigation" by Andrey Illesh: "Secret of the Korean 'Boeing-747'"]

[Text]

II.

"...the flight continued toward the Sea of Japan"—that is how the first report on this tragic occurrence ended in the Soviet press.

Soon an interview with Colonel General S. Romanov, chief of staff of the PVO [Air Defense] forces, appeared in the newspapers. Finally an official pronounced the words "passenger aircraft," and its nationality was determined—a Korean airline company, and the model was named—"Boeing-747."

But the cloud over this has not dispersed. To be honest, it has only thickened. For example, the colonel general stated, "The crew of the intruder aircraft, flying in violation of the ICAO [International Civil Aviation Organization] with its navigation lights and collision warning lights extinguished, did not react to any of the actions of our fighter-interceptor, whose pilot over a prolonged period of time made repeated attempts to conduct the intruder aircraft to the nearest airfield."

He was asked the following question: "How did the Soviet fighter-interceptor carry out these attempts?" "There is a whole series of air and radio techniques approved by the ICAO Council," explained the general, "by means of which intercept aircraft let the crew of an intercepted aircraft know that it has violated the airspace of another state and gone off course. First and foremost this means the establishment of radio communications using a well-known universal challenge on the aviation frequency 121.5 MHz and a repetition of that challenge on another aviation frequency (let us remember this "detail"—author). But the Soviet pilot, despite all his attempts to make radio contact with the intruder, was unable to do this inasmuch as the crew of the intruder never answered the radio broadcasts...."

Unfortunately, the first official document, "Statement of the Soviet Administration"—was constructed practically from such assertions....

He went on to report, "...Our interceptor pilot fired warning shots with tracer rounds across the path of the intruder aircraft in order to alert the crew of the intruder aircraft to the gross violation of the airspace of another state."

The important military commander affirmed also that the Soviet pilot could not see that it was a passenger aircraft in front of him because "the aircraft was flying with its lights off," and its contours are very similar to an American "RC-135" reconnaissance aircraft.

I intentionally picked out these few quotations. But not only because in the space of a few days they became almost essential to the explanation justifying the destruction of a passenger jumbo jet, but because there exists a firm response to them today. It is made by the man who pressed the missile launch button, after which the "Boeing-747" really did head off to the Sea of Japan.

Forever.

While a diplomatic and press war went on between the USSR and the United States (in those years we still did not have any official contacts with South Korea), special IZVESTIYA correspondent Boris Reznik made a desperate attempt to find out what in fact happened. Awakening Lev Nikolayevich Tolkunov in the night with a telephone call, he prevailed on the latter, a person of some importance, to get a journalist's permit to Kamchatka from the military. Why to Kamchatka, why to Petropavlovsk? Because that was where the reverse trail led from the Soviet fighter that first tried to track the flight of the Korean airliner into our airspace. We were given permission. He even prepared an article for publication in IZVESTIYA. As was customary in those days, this article was issued for evaluation by the leadership of the country's Armed Forces. Before you now is the "review" that the editorial office then received:

"To L.N. Tolkunov, chief editor of IZVESTIYA

"Dear Lev Nikolayevich,

"The article you have prepared corresponds to the spirit of the statement of the Soviet Government and is of significant interest to Soviet and foreign readers. It would be better to take out the name of the military pilots and give it the form of an article (and not a running commentary), however. With regard for these remarks (see the text), B. Reznik's article may be published.

"N. Ogarkov, 11 September 1983."

What exactly had the marshal corrected in the article of our special correspondent and why was it necessary to take out the names? After all, in those years the reporters themselves were excellent censors of their own articles. But in that generally innocuous text that supported the official version (otherwise there was no chance of publication!) the journalist had put the name of Kazmin, the military pilot who had ascended from Kamchatka to intercept the "Boeing-747."

I remind you: The aircraft was shot down over Sakhalin. But it was first noticed over Kamchatka. The distance, as you understand, is quite substantial.

So, according to our official version, some time after entering Soviet airspace it was "accompanied" by our fighter over the coasts of Kamchatka. Then the "Boeing," like a small plaything, "was lost." In fact, KAL-007 was first located at an air defense radar station according to the officer Oleg Pakhomov. It was at his command that the fighter-interceptor piloted by Major Vasiliy Kazmin ascended into the air from the Kamchatka air defense airfield. The latter caught up to the "Boeing" and accompanied it to the so-called "point of no return."

What is the "point of no return?"

As I have been told by specialists (pilots)—and their data is supported by other indirect indicators that the newspaper has at its disposal—such a point was introduced after the desertion to Japan of Belenko, a Soviet military pilot, in a state-of-the-art (in those years) MiG-25 fighter. The replacement of special military equipment on aircraft after the betrayal of Belenko cost the taxpayers of our country many millions (or was it billions?). But there was one more unexpected consequence of that impetuous flight (in those years they used to joke, "Ride a MiG to Japan"): They stopped trusting all (in any event Far Eastern) pilots. In the units they began to fuel the aircraft in such a fashion that the Soviet pilot would not have enough fuel under any circumstances to reach the nearest foreign airfield. So, the "point of no return" was defined by this distrust in the people protecting the country.

(Along the way I had a question—and I acknowledge that it will be necessary to ask many questions in this story, and not only to servicemen. The question: How much of an effect did the decision to limit the possibilities of the pilots have on the defense capability of the country? After all, in fact, the pilots were not always in a position—from a purely technical point of view—to carry out the mission! Well, what if the enemy that we made such a fuss about in those years actually crossed our path? An enemy capable of carrying out a real bombing attack or spy mission, for example? After him, playing tag, flew an "undependable" Soviet pilot?) Thus, to put it bluntly, Kazmin was compelled to cut off the interception and return to base. The "Boeing" was not lost. It simply and blindly continued its flight further and further in the direction of Sakhalin.

For a long time—more than an hour—KAL-007 was followed only by ground-based radar stations. Finally at Sakhalin two fighters took off from the Sokol airfield to meet it....

As for what happened afterward—more on that later. For now we will return to familiar and unfamiliar versions of the tragedy.

Mishel Bran [as transliterated], the French expert, conducted an investigation of this incident at the request of

the private American organization "Foundation To Support a Constitutional Government." Two fundamental propositions lay at the base of his version.

The first is that the South Korean liner was not shot down by a Soviet fighter off Sakhalin but rather suffered a catastrophe under puzzling circumstances in the area of Sangarskiy Strait [Tsugaru Kaikuo] over the coasts of Japan.

The second is that a military battle actually did flare up in Soviet airspace. It was not the "Boeing" that participated in it, but several American military aircraft, three of which were destroyed....

Our Tokyo correspondent, Sergey Agafonov, talked with Bran and received an explanation firsthand, as they say. I will not quote the entire version of the expert for two reasons: Because it is so voluminous and because it is so, pardon the expression, fantastic. But something about it must be printed inasmuch as in the end Bran's report was presented to very high American circles.

I will cite several of the ideas of Mishel Bran. As he asserts, through Japanese channels he managed to receive a copy of the conversations the pilot of 007 conducted. A biased analysis of this tape led experts to the conclusion that the "Boeing" was in the air for more than 50 minutes after a missile salvo from the Soviet fighter "buried" it. In addition, an analysis of the flight characteristics of the Soviet military pursuit craft and intruder aircraft over Sakhalin released by the Japanese Directorate of National Defense led Bran to another sensational conclusion: Soviet aircraft were pursuing not the "Boeing" but several supersonic targets at the same time.

M. Bran presented his version (in the form of an official report) in August 1989 at the ICAO. But he did not receive any response from them. According to information passed on by foreign agencies, the results of Mishel Bran's investigation were presented to American congressmen, including Senator S. Nunn (the same man who, as already reported in IZVESTIYA No. 353, along with others wrote Mikhail Gorbachev a letter requesting that this incident be investigated to its conclusion on the Soviet side and that the results of such an investigation be published).

The Tokyo office of AGENCE FRANCE PRESS informed our correspondent that at the time the Senator refused to comment on data of an intelligence nature that may be contained in the report of the French expert. As for the reaction of the Pentagon, it is well-known: Rick Osborn [as transliterated], representative of the American Defense Department, declared that the U.S. Air Force did not suffer any losses at the beginning of September 1983 and called the proposals of the French expert absurd.

We, in our turn, also decided to double-check Mishel Bran and asked Marshal of Aviation Kirsanov to comment on his version. Why this man? During the period of 1-6 September, Petr Semenovich headed the commission that analyzed the actions of the Air Defense Forces and the Air Force of the Far East Military District.

At first the marshal's answer was a short one: "Nonsense."

Nonetheless he described how a group of Soviet military specialists at one point undertook the task of carefully studying all the circumstances of the incident. They established that the intruder aircraft, having deviated from the international route by more than 500 km, was attacked at 2224 in the area of the village of Pravda. Two missiles were launched at it in a salvo. Ten minutes later the target disappeared from the equipment of the radiotechnical forces at an altitude of five km....

"It should be noted that almost at that same time in that very region an American reconnaissance aircraft was flying at 8,000 meters," continued Kirsanov. "On the basis of a comparison of reconnaissance flights in the region of the Karaginskiy Gulf, the conclusion was reached that an aircraft of that type had flown in the direction of Kamchatka. It has not been ruled out that it might be an E-3A (AWACS) aircraft. The signatures of these aircraft on the screens of the radar stations are identical."

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Thus, a sensation! Until this time none of the Soviet specialists had admitted that the Korean "Boeing" had been found.

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His name is Gennadiy Nikolayevich Osipovich. It was this man—today a lieutenant colonel in the reserves—who on the night of 31 August-1 September pressed the missile launch button.

Part III

915C0010A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 Jan 91 Union Edition p 5

[Report on interview with Lieutenant Colonel (Retired) Gennadiy Nikolayevich Osipovich, pilot of the SU-15, for the "IZVESTIYA investigation' by Andrey Illesh; place and date not given: "Secret of the Korean 'Boeing-747'"]

[Text]

III.

Lieutenant Colonel Gennadiy Nikolayevich Osipovich no longer serves in the Air Force. Following an unsuccessful ejection he was forced to retire. Now he lives in a small town in the south of Russia. He has a plot of land nearby where he grows strawberries... It was not so easy to find him. But when we met (and this was unexpected) he readily agreed to the request of our correspondent Nikolay Burbygi to talk about that distant event. But he warned that he would be prepared to talk only about what he himself had witnessed.

"The year 1983 was a difficult one for us." That was how Osipovich began his story. "The Americans had activated their intelligence activities in our region. And so we were forced to go up. The 'RC-135'—an electronic intelligence-gathering aircraft—was particularly troublesome. I read my own story in December issues of IZVESTIYA in the reportage entitled 'Seven Years After the Tragedy.' There is a reference in your piece to the opinion of James Oberg, the American investigator of Soviet catastrophes. For me, as a specialist, it was laughable to see his conclusions. For example, this investigator claims that it was quite possible for Soviet pilots to take the South Korean aircraft for an 'RC-135' intelligence-gathering aircraft. If that were so, Oberg writes, then the only proof we have is proof of incompetence. On the radar, KAL-007 was supposedly moving at a speed greater than normal for an 'RC-135.' Moreover, it was flying straight while the 'RC-135' usually flies in 'figure eights.'

"Let us look into this. Are we really such useless fliers, such village idiots, that we do not in fact know about the 'figure eight?' Check it out: I was used to watching different things from the sky over Sakhalin, and I can assert that the 'RC-135' flies along our border and is capable of receiving signals from our radars, and also of intercepting radio exchanges between ground stations. But not all the radars are working when it is quiet. How did the Americans act in such a case? Their fliers resorted to cunning and used to make those same 'figure eights' that Oberg talks about. And this is what happens. The intelligence-gathering aircraft moves in the direction of our airspace, violates it, and forces the radars to light up... And then it turns back. We see the 'figure eight' we are looking for.

"Yes, there was a constant war of nerves. During 10 years of service in the Far East I made more than 1,000 flights to intercept them. We knew the aircraft markings of the intruders. And they knew ours. One day one of the officers in my regiment flew out for an intercept. And suddenly he hears: 'Hello Nikolayev. Where did you take your vacation?...'

"Well, in April 1983 an unpleasant incident occurred. Taking advantage of the 'fall off'—that is when fog comes in from the sea onto the land and then again moves back out to sea when the Sun heats it—the Americans violated our airspace and flew over Zelenyy Island for 15 minutes.

"After that incident a commission flew out to the regiment and gave us a dressing-down. They really berated us. After the commission left the commander of the regiment reckoned everything up and said: If there is air combat over the Kurils you will not be able to get back home. So we will guide you to the nearest land so that you can eject there.

"You can understand that the psychological stress increased after that kind of talk. For several weeks we kept our guns at the ready and waited. And it was only by June that passions started to abate. The regimental doctor began to insist that I go on leave: The stress was telling on me. All the time I was either flying intercepts or controlling flights, since I was the deputy commander of the regiment.

"On 16 August, I returned from leave to Sakhalin, to the settlement of Sokol, where our unit was located."

(Permit me, the author, to make a slight historical digression. Foreign experts investigating the "Boeing" story have repeatedly made reference to the airfield located there. Today its existence remains a secret only for the military censor, who struck out the word "Sokol" in our piece—the one published in December. But this site was already "declassified" because several years ago when repairs were being carried out at the civilian airport in South Sakhalin the military people kindly offered Aeroflot the opportunity to use "Sokol." And thousands of passengers, your correspondent included, flew into and out of Sakhalin from exactly the same runway around which combat aircraft are in revetments or simply open to the sky. Also, by the way, the types have not been secret for a long time).

Osipovich continued his story. "At that time the regiment had converted to the MiG-23 and MiG-31. The pilots had been retrained and one squadron had flown off. Few people remained with the regiment. I still had several days leave to come but the commander asked me to go out early, ahead of time.

"I 'got up to speed' (was briefed) for four flying shifts, and I asked for the night flight. It was convenient for me to be on duty at night. The more so since on 1 September I was invited to the school at which my son was studying in his first year, while my daughter was in her eighth year. I had to present a lesson on peace.

"On 31 August I took over my duties as usual. I was the senior officer present and I personally ordered Readiness 3. Readiness 1 is when a pilot sits in his aircraft. Readiness 2 is when he is wearing his flying gear. And Readiness 3 is when he is permitted to be out of his flying gear, but if the need arises can be in his aircraft in 10 minutes.

"I took over the watch and reported to my superiors. Then I had my supper. I watched television and dozed off. I got up at about 0430 to check the guard. I was barely dressed when the telephone rang! Lieutenant Astakhov answered it and listened, and then muttered something indistinct. Finally I understood. He was saying 'You are to go to Readiness 1.'

"I went out to the aircraft, trying to imagine why me: 'Why have they put me at Readiness 1? There is a junior pilot already at readiness...'

"Nevertheless, I quickly climbed into the cockpit of the aircraft and reported in.

"They confirmed my orders—be at readiness.

"But time passed and no new orders came. Suddenly I saw that they were uncovering another aircraft. What was going on? The Americans usually started to make a commotion after 1100, it was much too early for them now...

"At 0600 (local time, of course) they finally gave me my command—'takeoff.' I started the engine, switched on the lights because the runway was not yet lit, and started to taxi out.

"They gave me a course—out to sea. I quickly climbed to 8,500 meters as instructed, and then I understood. For some reason I was sure that they had sent up a test target to check out the assets on call. As training for us. And they had sent me up as the most experienced.

"I had been airborne for eight minutes now. Suddenly the aircraft controller came on the air:

"'Target ahead: An aircraft is violating flight regime. He is on a head-on course.'

"For some reason, however, my aircraft was not vectored onto the target along the forward hemisphere. Soon they gave me a new command:

"'We will vector you from the aft hemisphere.'

"There was nothing else to do. I turned onto the reciprocal course. And, after receiving an altitude correction, I went after the intruder. The weather at that time was normal. I soon caught sight of the intruding aircraft through the thin cloud. What does that mean, to catch sight of? Ahead I saw a flying dot about two or three centimeters across. His flashing lights [migalki] were switched on."

[IZVESTIYA] "What were you thinking at that moment?"

"Nothing. I was excited! And later, when they asked me to reconstruct everything that had happened in the sky, second by second, I could give no details.

"What is a fighter pilot? He is a kind of sheep dog that they are constantly sending off after strange things. I saw that that was what was ahead—something strange. And I am not a state automobile inspector who can stop a violator and demand his documents! I moved in behind to intercept the flight. The first thing that I had to do was force it to land. And if he would not comply, then render him harmless at any cost. I simply did not have any other thoughts. Everything else that I heard afterward was lyrics. Nothing more.

"So I closed and locked on with the radar sight. And the missile lock-on lights came on.

"The intruder's speed was about 1,000 kph; I was moving faster. I had to match speeds. Keeping station at about 13 kilometers from him, I reported, 'Locked on target. I am following. What should I do?'

"But the aircraft controller suddenly started to ask questions all over again: Course? Target altitude?... Even though everything should have been the other way round! It was only later that it became clear why: We were both moving in a zone of invisibility whose existence we could not have guessed...

"'For some time we could see neither you nor him,' the controller explained to me when I was back on the ground.

"Finally, I was flying toward Sakhalin. And then the controller issued the command:

"'The target has violated the state border. Destroy the target...'"

We interrupt the pilot's story, and I again hand over to our New York correspondent Aleksandr Shalnev. He sent to the editorial offices a document that up to now has not been published in our country, even though it was presented to the world community seven- and-a-half years ago! What we are talking about is the recording of exchanges between the pilots of the Soviet fighters that were scrambled to intercept the South Korean Boeing. According to our information, this recording was made by the Japanese defense forces. The exchanges between the pilots of three SU-15's, one MiG-23, and the controllers at the air base were monitored and subsequently circulated as a stenographic record in Russian and English. True, in the recording for some reason the commands, questions, and instructions of the ground services are missing. But as Jeane Kirkpatrick, the U.S. representative to the United Nations at that time claimed, "nothing has been cut from the recording. This recording was made on voice-activated recording equipment and so it covers only the periods when speech was heard."

But even if the commands from the ground were for some reason not heard, it is possible to have an idea of what those commands were from the pilots' reactions.

We are not about to reproduce the entire stenographic record—too much of it would be incomprehensible to the reader. But in order to give an idea of the kind of document we have before us, we shall publish small fragments from the first part of the conversations that

were recorded by the Japanese instruments starting at 1756 Greenwich Mean Time on 31 August, half an hour before the destruction of the aircraft.

But first let me explain the significance of the word "Migalka," which is a flashing light for identification during a maneuver in the air; ANO [aviatsionnyye navigatsionnyye ogni] is the accepted abbreviation for aircraft navigation light; Z.G. [zapas goryuchego] is an illuminated panel showing the fuel reserve. Marks of omission signify places where the voice from the ground is missing. And so, the fragments of the stenographic record:

...
Switch on the special system?
Roger.
163. He must jettison his external stores [podveska].
Yes, she has turned.
The target is now below on my left at 80.
...
Roger. She is flying with her flashing lights, with her flashing lights.
...
Target course is as before, 240.
Executing.
Going for lock-on.
Target course 240.
Repeat azimuth.
1001 from "Karnaval." Azimuth 45, range 60?
"Deputat" is observing me.
"Deputat" is asking: Do you see the target or not?
Do you see it?
805 are you calling?
Who is calling 805?
I see.
"Karnaval" cannot see.
...
ANO indicates: the flashing light is on.
Understood. My altitude is 7,500, course 230.
Closing with target.
Time is short.
...
I am moving at a range of 25 behind the target. Can you see?
Oh, hell [yelki-palki], executing. My Z.G. is already lit.
...
Must close with it.
Switching in lock on, closing on it.
...

At some place in among our omission marks Gennadiy received the command "destroy the target."

However, after the UN Security Council meeting, experts (including American experts) repeatedly voiced their doubts: How accurately was the recording of the exchanges transcribed and reproduced on the stenographic record in Russian? Moreover, opinions differ on the meaning of some of the terms encountered in the stenographic record. First there is the question of "migalka." What did the pilot of our fighter mean when he said that "the target is flying with her flashing lights?" The official Soviet version was that the "Boeing-747" had no recognition lights...

Of course, it would be important to publish our own Soviet stenographic record made from our own recording, in particular the recording of what the ground controllers said. To publish it with commentaries clearly explaining the meaning of every syllable, every interjection in the exchanges between the pilots. But alas...

Although, as our correspondent was told by a military person who wished to remain anonymous, the Soviet recording of the exchanges after the incident was cleaned up and cosmetic work was done on it (it was allegedly re-recorded while an electric shaver was switched on, which created the "necessary" interference), and so could not be completely trusted. Be that as it may, it is of great interest even in its present form. As is the stenographic record of the exchanges that took place between the pilots of the Boeing and ground services in America and Japan.

...And so the giant jumbo jet—the "Boeing-747"—and the "SU-15" continued their flight in the sky over Sakhalin. Only minutes remained before the missile was fired.

[Photograph of G. Osipovich accompanies article]

Part IV

915C0011A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
25 Jan 91 Union Edition p 7

[Report on interview with Lieutenant Colonel (Retired) Gennadiy Nikolayevich Osipovich, pilot of the SU-15, for the "IZVESTIYA investigation" by Andrey Illesh continues; place and date not given: "Secret of the Korean 'Boeing-747'"]

[Text]

IV.

And so, SU-15 pilot Gennadiy Osipovich received a command from the ground:

"The target has violated the state border. Destroy the target.

"I turned on the afterburner," the retired lieutenant colonel relates, "and the missile seekers started to flash. I reported back to the ground: Target lock-on. And suddenly in my earphones I hear this: 'Abort destruction! Match altitude with the target and force it to land.'

"I was already approaching the intruder from below. I matched speeds and started to flash him. But he did not respond.

"'Give him some warning bursts,' I heard from the ground.

"I fired four bursts, firing off more than 200 rounds. But what was the sense of that! I had armor-piercing rounds, not incendiaries. And it was hardly likely that anyone would see them...

"But it was reported by our newspapers, quoting 'official sources,' that warning shots were fired and that the rounds were incendiaries—star shells, tracers..."

"That is untrue. I simply did not have those kinds of rounds. And so I fired armor-piercing rounds."

"But in that case the pilots in the other aircraft (and this is exactly what foreign experts are claiming) really could not see you, could they?"

"I have no doubt that they noticed me. Their attention was caught by my flashing. The reaction of the pilots was unambiguous—they quickly reduced speed. Now they were moving at about 400 kph. I was moving faster than 400 kph—I simply could not go more slowly. In my opinion the intruder's reckoning was simple: If I did not want to stall and go into a spin I would be forced to overtake them. And that is what happened... We had already flown past the island; it is narrow at that point. And it was then that the command was given from the ground: 'Destroy the target!'

It is easy to say—destroy. But how. With the cannon?! But I had already fired 243 rounds. Ram it? I have always had a bad attitude toward that sort of thing. Ramming is a last chance thing. Just in case, I had already managed to make a sharp turn and was now above and running on to him. But then I had a thought—I dropped 2,000... Afterburner. I armed the missiles and brought the nose down sharply. It worked! I saw that I had lock-on."

(I must stop at this tense point because I must apologize to my readers. There was a regrettable inaccuracy in my last piece. However, I warned that there might be; the Boeing incident is very complicated and events can be interpreted in many different ways. And so, Gennadiy Osipovich, to whom the stenographic records of the radio intercept was given for his expert assessment, caught us out in an error.

("Z.G. is not fuel reserve, as you wrote, it is 'seeker lock on' ["zakhvat golovok"]. In simple terms it means that the missiles have been aimed at the target."

(As for the reliability of the pieces of the stenographic record published in IZVESTIYA, the pilot stated that in all probability it corresponds to the reality. In any event, he recognized his own rejoinders in it).

"The first missile," the interceptor pilot said as he continued his story, "was fired when the distance between us was about five kilometers. Only now I could really see the intruder. It was larger than an IL-76 and its outline was something like a TU-16. The trouble for all Soviet pilots is that we do not study civilian aircraft belonging to foreign companies. I knew all the military aircraft, all the reconnaissance aircraft.... But this was not like any of them..."

[IZVESTIYA] Did you at that moment have any doubts about the correctness of your action?

"I never thought for a moment that I could shoot down a passenger aircraft. Anything at all, but not that! How could I admit that I was pursuing a Boeing? Now I could see ahead of me a large aircraft with its lights and flashers switched on...

"... The first missile hit near the tail [khvost]. There was a burst of yellow flame. The second took off half the left wing. The lights and flashers went out immediately...

"And at that time an unimaginable hubbub broke out in the air. I remember that a MiG-23 was following me. He had drop tanks and could not go fast. The pilot was squealing continuously:

"'I am observing air combat.'

"What combat was he seeing? It was difficult for me to understand." (Perhaps it is exactly that phrase on the tape of the Japanese specialists that misled many of those who investigated the tragedy?.. It is still impossible to prove—author's note). "But after everything on the intruder was extinguished, I peeled off to the right and heard that they were giving the "Migar" instructions for some reason.

"Controller:

"The target is going down."

"And he shouted 'I do not see it.'

"Again the controller:

"The target is going down. Target altitude 5,000 meters.

"'I do not see it.'

"And suddenly: 'The target has disappeared from the screen.'

"I was still thinking: The plane I shot down turned out to be tenacious. They later told me that it was a chance occurrence that the Boeing had been destroyed by the two missiles. At least seven missiles of the kind I had on the SU-15 were needed to bring it down.

"As I returned, I looked at the instruments. The "cigarette butt"—the fuel emergency warning light—was already burning. I had enough kerosene for 10 minutes flying. And I still had 150 kilometers to go to get back to my own airfield. Finally I made it, but as luck would have it the airfield was covered with the 'fall off'—the fog from off the sea, and was closed. But somehow I landed..."

"How were you greeted"

"Like a hero. The entire regiment was there to meet me! The young people looked at me with envy. And the old hands immediately grabbed me by the lapels and hit me up for a bottle!... I recall that the regimental engineer embraced me and shook my hand and shouted 'Everything turned out well, my fine fellow!' In short, there was rejoicing. For it is not every day that we 'finish off' an intruder. True, once back on the ground I started to have a strange feeling. And when I telephoned the commander of the combined unit, Colonel Kornukhov, I expressed an interest in learning about what had happened: Had it been one of ours?

"No,' he answered. 'It was a foreigner, so make a hole in your shoulder boards for a new star.'

"This was all on the morning of 1 September.

"And then the unimaginable started. A commission flew in. And everyone suddenly started regarding me as son of a bitch. Except, of course, the boys in the regiment.

"'But did you know there were 260 passengers on board?' they asked me.

"I heard that question many times. Later I turned the situation over and over in my mind. And I can honestly say that I had no idea that it was a passenger aircraft flying ahead of me. I saw in front of me an intruder over the border, and it had to be destroyed. During my time in the service I have gone up many times to make an intercept and I used to dream about the situation. I knew that if an intruder did appear I would not miss him. I even had a dream several years before and I saw something very like what happened in reality. So that it is, if you like, the destiny of an interceptor pilot not to miss an intruder.

"I repeat that all the talk about a civilian aircraft came later. But in the air it was an intruder. I remember by own radio exchanges by heart, and you have just shown me some of them... Look: There is not a single hint in them that there might be passengers on the aircraft."

"Nevertheless, you did have problems..."

"We have enough people in the country who like to play it safe. The Army is no exception. And this was such a noisy affair! I had even heard earlier that when a pilot had shot down an American 'B-47' in Khrushchev's time, he was at first put in the lockup. He was only released after the investigation.

"Here, too, everyone was waiting for the government's decision. So that I was ready for anything. But soon Defense Minister Ustinov telephoned and once again everyone was smiling, as if on command. Correspondents from central television flew in immediately. Angry as hell: They should have been flying to Cuba, but here I was with my 'Boeing'...

"They sent me a 'libretto' from 'upstairs'—the text that I was to spiel in front of the camera. I started to read it. But the television person—Aleksandr Tikkomirov—knitted his brows: It would not do. We needed 'improvisation.'

"I asked for a break. I went to the technicians. I drank a bottle of vodka. And I started to speak—about the lesson for the world, about the atom bomb... I could not speak so well now.

"Afterwards they suggested that I be assigned to a new place to do my service. I asked for the place where I had learned to fly, where I had been married. Everyone knew me there, and I knew many people. The commander in chief of the Air Force gave me my own aircraft. And I flew right across the country to my new place of service, like a white man [belyy chelovek].

"I flew in. It caused a stir; people were interested in talking to me. Everything is quiet now, but then... There was even verse: 'From the East comes the lad, Who is fighting mad.'

"In general, the 'Boeing' incident helped. They found us an apartment and so forth. Once I went to the chief who was in charge of the telephones. I put in a request to have a telephone installed in my apartment. He said to me: 'Where have you come from, commander, the Moon? We have a five-year waiting list!'

"And then suddenly he remembered.

"'Wait a moment, who are you? Are you he? Bring your money tomorrow. There will be a telephone for you.'

"It is sad to think of it now."

[IZVESTIYA] Gennadiy, why did you retire?

"After the 'Boeing' incident I was ferrying a fighter from the factory and the engine cut out in flight. There was an ammunition dump below me. I managed to take the aircraft off to the side. However, I had to eject at low altitude. I damaged my spine. I took almost a year to recover. After the accident I could no longer fly for health reasons. And what is life if I cannot fly? Being a warehouse chief is not for me. So I retired after my years in service. People who have nothing to do with the Air Force do not understand my decision, and they laugh: What an idiot, they say..."

[IZVESTIYA] You talked about people playing it safe, and a 'libretto' for your television appearance. What did you mean by that?

"I was surprised by the lack of firmness on the part of some of the top chiefs. For in the grand reckoning I have no doubt that we were right. A foreign aircraft was in our airspace for two-and-a- half hours, and during that time it covered a distance of more than 2,000 kilometers. All the air traffic control services of foreign states said not a word, remained silent. What order can you give in such a situation? Sit on your hands? They were within their rights to shoot it down. But then they began to lie about the small things: They said that the aircraft was flying

without lights or flashers, that tracer rounds were used to fire warning shots, that I talked to it on the radio or tried to do that on the 121.5 megahertz emergency frequency. But I did not have time for that! Remember that I would have had to retune to go to that frequency. That meant I would lose contact with the ground. I am sure that we were too eager to come out of the incident looking good, and as a result we were overzealous...

"As for me, I did my duty to the end. And were I in the same situation again (you understand, I am not talking about a civilian aircraft with passengers on board but an intruder), I would do everything possible to intercept its flight. I was prepared and trained for that all my life. And that, I assure you, is not boasting."

[IZVESTIYA] Were you decorated for this incident?

"No. Some of my fellow servicemen received a boost in the service, and someone was awarded an order. But I got nothing. But that is not the point..."

[IZVESTIYA] What do you do today?

"What can a retiree do? I bought a piece of land. I built a house. I grow strawberries. And I am expecting a grandchild. My daughter has promised this by summer... I dream of giving him my uniform; that is all I have left from the Air Force. And even more, I wait for the truth about the 'Boeing' to be told, the truth about how it happened, how it found itself over our territory, and what it was doing flying there. And there is more: Was the black box found?! And if it was, what about the recording? This is not idle curiosity but a necessity, so that such mistakes will not be repeated. Meanwhile, I heard that they had found the 'Boeing' when I was still on Sakhalin. And even investigated it. But no one saw people there. I, however, explain that by the fact that there are crabs in the sea off Sakhalin that immediately devour everything... I did hear that they found only a hand in a black glove. Perhaps it was the hand of the pilot of the aircraft that I shot down. You know, even now I cannot really believe that there were passengers on board. You cannot write off everyone to the crabs... Surely something would be left?... Nevertheless, I am a supporter of the old version: It was a spy plane. In any event, it was not happenstance that it flew toward us."

... The final rejoinders of the pilots during the radio exchanges were these:

I have launched.

Target destroyed.

Breaking off the attack...

That was at 1826 hours Greenwich Mean Time.

According to the specialists, from the altitude the "Boeing-747" was at that time the stricken aircraft would have taken at least 10 minutes to fall into the sea.

All the passengers were fully conscious for all of those horrible minutes: An engine and a wing were destroyed by the missile from our fighter, but not the fuselage.

[Photograph accompanies the article captioned: "The MiG-23—the aircraft that followed G. Osipovich, is an interceptor"]

Part V

915C0012A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jan 91 Union Edition p 6

["IZVESTIYA investigation" by Andrey Illesh: "Secret of the Korean 'Boeing-747'"]

[Text]

V.

The aircraft, hit by two missiles, fell for about 10 minutes.

With its destroyed engine and missing wing, it is thought to have circled twice around the island of Moneron and then it dove into the water at approximately the speed of sound.

Certain specialists assert that if the Boeing had hit the earth the damage would not have been as extensive as it was from the collision with the water. If it had hit on a solid surface, of course, part of the fuselage would have been crumpled. But the rest of the structures would have absorbed the shock. But when it struck the water the aircraft was literally ripped to shreds—they subsequently found scraps no greater than a meter or two in size.

But I am getting ahead of myself again—those September days when the international scandal began to rage there was a real shouting match between the Soviet and American press, and the question of what the remains of the plane looked like had not been raised. The pages of the newspapers were filled mainly with two other things: Where and in whose waters had the downed plane ended up and would they succeed in finding the black box?

And so we come to the most confusing part of the story of the Boeing-747—the story of the search for it.

And it was confused because everything that happened in the water, air, and land in the regions of the search for the Korean aircraft was shrouded in an atmosphere of secrecy. Many people, incidentally, were recruited for the search: military, civilian, representatives of the intelligence and security services... The secrecy extended not only to everything that happened; it was divided in unequal shares among the participants in the events, naturally confusing the situation even more. But even today things are difficult for a reporter who has undertaken to investigate these mysterious events: The events do not fit together right, there are no people capable of documenting the entire course of events, the secrecy I mentioned...

Moreover, no small role in making things even less clear was played by the misunderstandings and confusion that have become so customary, a trademark in our country, in places where something concrete must be done (in our case—locate something, bring it to the surface, and protect it). I repeat, there were many people: from the military to fishermen (we still have to tell what the latter were doing in the region of the search). Moreover, literally until the last few months nobody in the USSR had refuted the official version: The aircraft has still not been found! And it, this version, had to be kept intact both within the country and outside it. And forces almost equal to those engaged in the search itself were devoted to this "humanitarian" cause. Yes, plenty of layers of lies (or "half-lies") had built up over the years.

Incidentally, after a short period of time our newspapers seemed to have forgotten about the tragedy with the South Korean airliner. We could not have guessed that after the tragedy, occurring in the Far Eastern skies, a farce involving many people was being played out on the surface of the ocean. For us readers (and writers) of the Soviet newspapers the Boeing ceased to exist fairly soon—it was simply and plainly suggested that we forget about it. And only a few "select" (because of their jobs) learned about the ramifications of the September incident, that continued to disturb Western readers.

Even for me as a journalist, at first, right after the September shock, the investigation of the Boeing story did not seem to be serious work but rather a protest against the silence, because I did not place too much hope in the idea of telling everything as it was, refuting "on the way" the official version of the Soviet government. And how was it possible to believe in freedom of speech with the regime in power at that time and the censorship in evidence everywhere?... At the time my modest attempts to find something out looked more like I was playing at my profession: Not the one shown in the Soviet film "Journalist," but rather in the Western version—"Occupation—Reporter."

Banal as it may sound, the matter was decided by chance and my love for the Far East. When I flew in to Sakhalin on my regular vacation in the company of friends I met with a worker from—shall we say—"competent bodies." And he showed me a pack of photographs depicting objects of various shapes. Basically—things.

"This is from that very Boeing," he said. "Our confusion over the search for the 'Korean' here just recently came to an end. Then we had to destroy this material evidence. Not all of it, of course. I saw neither corpses nor instruments. In general other services were engaged in this work. And my colleagues and I had to figure out what they did with the clothes and things."

"And what did you find out?" I asked timidly.

"They destroyed everything that was turned in."

"But what was actually there?"

"Here, you see: various things. We came across money... Well, all the junk passengers take with them on an international flight."

Because of the specific nature of his profession, apparently, he could not say any more. But even that was something.

I did not manage to get hold of those photographs in 1984. And only as a result of an IZVESTIYA investigation did these things begin to appear in files marked Boeing.

I flew out of Sakhalin with the firm intention of digging up the truth. There were more meetings on the island—in Nevelsk and Kholmsk—and discussions with military seamen, and the first admissions on the part of participants in the events—both direct and indirect. There were also escorts to the continent that seem absurd today, but during those "banquet" years they seemed quite natural: They set a table for me right on the hood of a black "Volga" on the concrete strip of the "secret" Sokol airport. All around one could see those same Su and MiG fighter-interceptors, and about 100 meters away from our feast one could see the nervous procedure for landing the Tu-154, which is painfully familiar to any Aeroflot passenger. Civilian passenger liners stood side by side with military planes and, it seemed, just as calmly and peacefully as though the night flight of Gennadiy Osipovich from this same concrete strip had never happened, as though there had never been an international scandal, and 269 lives had not been destroyed.

Time passed, but the subject of the Korean Boeing continued to come up (from time to time): Specialists in the West constructed conjectures and suppositions: Had the missing aircraft been discovered or not? Indirect evidence that it had been found appeared approximately a year after the catastrophe. It (the evidence) was Western popular music. The fact is that American radio interception points located on the Japanese island of Hokkaido were discovered in the transmissions from the Soviet military radio station of Sakhalin tapes that were enjoyed by passengers of the Boeing-747 at the time of the KAL-007 trip. After this radio interception, American specialists began to express suppositions more persistently—that the Soviets had managed to discover the remains of the aircraft and, apparently, to remove the electronic equipment from it. Including (they could not rule it out) the idea that the Soviets even have conversations of the crew members during the last 30 minutes of flight.

Again they began to demand that the USSR make the discovered materials public. But, as far as I know, we steadfastly resisted and maintained our silence.

Now, more than seven years later, we are going to try to restore the picture of those autumn days long ago.

...Immediately after the first article in IZVESTIYA I was visited by the former commander of manned subsurface

vehicles, who at that time witnessed certain events related to the searches for the Boeing.

N.N. Grebtsov is now working as a senior scientific associate at the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Drilling Equipment.

According to the conversation with the former submariner, this is how the searches for the downed giant aircraft began.

"At that time I was working on 'Sprut'—a specialized diving vessel used for training personnel from drilling ships. It was at that time (at the beginning of September 1983) that the best forces of the diving service, headed by Vladimir Vasilyevich Zakharchenko (he is still in charge of this service) were on the 'Sprut.' We were working in the Barents Sea when a radiogram arrived: 'Prepare a team of 12 people.' We immediately staffed a team and waited for further orders. We were told: 'The people will be taken from the 'Sprut' right in the sea.'

"It seems that this was on 10 September. I was on the bridge at the time; the affair lasted several hours... But it turns out that the military were simply waiting for dark. When it was dark enough so that none of their secrets would be revealed, the aircraft carrier Novorossiysk approached. Next to the helicopter landing space is a cabin where we took shelter—everybody was interested in what was going on. The ship's number rang out, a deafening voice from out of the sky, magnified by the ship's portable transmitter:

"'I am person No. 1, I am person No. 1...'

"Then the 'person' himself appeared—the spectacle was fairly terrifying for a staff person: A 'K-32' with full arms, pilots in helmets. They could not take all the divers at once; they took them six at a time. And the 'company' disappeared. They disappeared for a long time, and almost nothing was known of them...

Several nights earlier when the best divers in the country (depth record-holders) were taken from the "Sprut" under the cover of darkness, the telephone rang in the office of the chief of the Far Eastern Deep Water Drilling Administration. My colleague and companion on taiga journeys, Stanislas Glukhov from Khabarovsk, spoke with him. Here is what he heard from A.S. Torchinov:

"Yes, I was on temporary duty in a Sakhalin port when I heard that the Boeing had been downed. I understood that we would be awakened that night... And in fact that night the commander of the Pacific Ocean Fleet telephoned. And in the morning there was already a telegram on my desk from the leadership of the USSR Ministry of the Gas Industry: 'Send down a drilling ship immediately...' There were no explanations. They sent the Mikhail Mirchink to the region of the search."

Why did it have to be a drilling ship, and why the Mirchink? As knowledgeable people explained to me during the investigation conducted by IZVESTIYA, to find the aircraft it was necessary to have a ship which could not only determine its coordinates very precisely but also had the capability of "positioning," that is, staying at a given point. Only three ships like the Mirchink were made on our country's orders in Scandinavia. And the Mirchink turned out to be the closest to the region of the search at the moment.

They called the Murmansk divers because all three ships had been put into operation in Murmansk, and that was where the best specialists worked. Without them, the military clearly could not have made things work: It was discovered fairly quickly that the Naval fleet that had undertaken the secret task did not have the necessary means of discovery, the necessary equipment, that even from the standpoint of world practice were fairly well known and widespread. This seems even stranger if one keeps in mind that during those years there was no such thing as refusing anything to the military, and they had immense quantities of equipment. But the equipment, even had it been available, the military themselves assure us, was not "in working order."

As for the divers, the military, of course, has its own underwater rescue service. But its maximum depth is 160 meters. And with the equipment the armed forces has cannot stay under water for more than 15-20 minutes. And, judging from everything, the work takes a long time.

So, having decided that they could not do the job with their own forces, the people in uniform began to recruit everyone they could into the search region. And, as we know, they could recruit many people. All the events took place in a small area of water on the edge of the 12-mile zone—for the aircraft fell into the ocean not far from this line, that invisible border separating the border water area from neutral waters. They say it was approximately at the 11th mile.

Ships gathered here, at this point on the map, from all sides—from our shores, Soviet ships, and from neutral waters, American and Japanese... In the words of the most restrained eye witnesses, there were ultimately several dozen of them. Less cautious witnesses give numbers like 70 or even 100.

In this maritime "crush" people were concerned about different things: Some were searching, others were looking on, and still others—were hiding what they had found and covering up their tracks...

Part VI

915C0013A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jan 91 Union Edition p 5

["IZVESTIYA investigation" by Andrey Illesh: "The Secret of the Korean 'Boeing-747'"]

[Text]

VI.

And so, the Sea of Japan. Next door is the "entry" to the Tatar Strait and Moneron Island. According to the recollections of eye witnesses, the weather was good that autumn, the sky was clear, and the water blue-green. Only rarely was it stormy.

And the picture was quite unusual for these parts: There was a confusion of ships in the water.

What was happening on the smooth water could be seen best of all from the air, where extraordinary animation prevailed.

But I have to abridge the story of the eyewitness to these events in such a way that it will be difficult to tell what his occupation is: Such is the insistent demand of the former participant in the special work, who is now a pensioner. (During the investigation I repeatedly found people who insisted that their names not be mentioned in the press. That is what secrecy is all about—to be maintained by the only means we know—fear. Alas, successfully.)

"Incidentally, I made no promises to stay silent. With the exception of general ones. And now it is hard for me to remember what is a military secret and what is not. I am a pensioner, but they are taking pensions away even from people like Kalugin, and I cannot allow myself to be that brave.

"Incidentally, about the Boeing. I was called away from my job on an emergency as early as 5 September. 'On the base' there were no fliers trained for flights over the sea. And I was entrusted to work with the state commission for the investigation. I was the one who provided for their transportation and search for floating debris for 20 days in a row...

"I flew—a helicopter. And duty details walked along the shore picking up what the sea brought in.

"During the searches they flew everything that would fly—dozens of planes and helicopters. The Air Force and naval aviation and those they could bring from inland... And in the neutral waters there were Japanese ships (their patrol boats were equipped with helicopters), Korean ships, American, and it seems there were even British ships. You would not believe it: There was a total of more than 100 of them.

"One day I observed from below many South Korean ships all decorated with flowers. They were having something like a funeral in the water.

"There were times when the foreign ships moved into our territorial waters—you cannot draw a clear line in the water there. In particular, an American frigate was playing tricks. (The reader can see it in the middle photo. Author.) [picture shows "frigate of the U.S. Navy" on a calm sea] This time I ran up against the frigate in the fog and was barely able to turn away. I saw people in the deck cabin. Of course they could have brought me down too. Once I almost collided with the Orion—we were nose to nose. There were low clouds and we barely missed each other. (The Orion is a large aircraft of the Il-18 type which is used especially for patrolling).

"I repeat, we flew every day. We brought the commission from Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk to Nevelsk. We received new assignments from them and patrolled. Everything they found they took back to Nevelsk."

(There was a special staff on the Petropavlovsk anti-submarine ship. According to IZVESTIYA, its leaders included two rear admirals. I note in passing that quite a few secret staffs of various kinds were created at that time. Another important aspect is that attached to the staff located in the city of Nevelsk, in addition to representatives of the Air Force command, there were also special agents from the Ministry of the Aviation Industry. It is easy to explain the latter by the fact that various instruments from the downed Boeing were delivered there. They had to be sorted and it had to be determined if there was intelligence equipment on what was officially a "spy" aircraft.—Author).

"One of the commission members was almost always on board with me," the incognito observer continues his story . "Either we ourselves tried to find debris or we were led by cutters. Everything we found in the water or on land was officially recorded, put into sacks and brought on board my ship. Therefore I know that there was nothing special there.

"But now I wish to tell my riddle. I do not think the Boeing was on a reconnaissance flight. It would have been possible to hop over quickly in a fighter and they would never have caught up with it—we do not catch all of them now. And even in those days one would hear conversations like this: There was a flier who refused to bring this very Boeing down. And if this is true, it is something that not everyone would do. But I am speaking about this as one of the directions for your research, since there was such a rumor..." (Our newspaper's investigation does not confirm this information. Author).

...And so there were helicopters and airplanes in the region of the search, the shores were being combed by border guards, and dozens of ships were in the region. Among them were many fishing boats: from Kamchatka, Maritime Kray, Sakhalin. How did they end up there and why? The captains of the fishing boats tried to answer these questions for Stanislav Glukhov.

Nikolay Sergeyevich Antonov, captain of the Kholmsk ocean fishing base:

"I ended up in the region of the searches on the fifth or sixth day after the Boeing was downed. One might say by accident. I was sent to the BMRT (large freezing trawler) Kareng to replace the captain. There were already a lot of ships there—both military and fishing. There were 15 or 20 fishing ships. They cast trawls and combed the area. The soil was heavy and the trawls broke. Well they had

never caught any fish in this place in their lives... The crews they took away from fishing to place them in the region were paid their average piece-rate and those who were sent from the port were paid 100 percent of their salary. But the fishermen had no illusions...

"On the surface everything happened as it would on an ordinary fishing expedition: trawling, daily reports on the catch to Dalryb. But in fact a concealment operation was going on. Under the guise of fishing we would not allow foreigners—Japanese and American fishing ships—near the place of the search. Especially when we finally stumbled across the Boeing. It was a diversionary maneuver to say that we were peaceful fishermen... The same with the 'trawlers' around the Mirchink, moored at the point above the scraps of the aircraft that had been found... The main thing was who would be first—we or the Americans and Japanese—to make our way to the point where the Boeing lay. We would not let their ships closer than a half mile to the Mirchink."

Ivan Varfolomeyevich Shaydurov, captain:

"They sent me to the region of the searches to 'participate in the trawling' and appointed me chief of the 'expedition.' Of course, there were no fish, nor could there have been any! They sent ships there both from Kamchatrybprom and Primorrybprom and from the active sea fishing base in Nakhodka and ours from Sakhalinrybprom. When I took over the expedition the support ships and small ships had already left. And they were not to return to these three square miles. The issue there was this: to create an atmosphere whereby the partner or, rather, the enemy would not get into the area where the drilling ship Mikhail Mirchink was working. We patrolled around it and circled in ships.

"I was there for a month. The expedition was reformed on 10 November. Actually, everyone knew that it was all over, the work was finished. The Mirchink weighed anchor and left... Well, they kept us there for two or three more days: We acted as though we were working... And the Mirchink had been anchored right over the fuselage of the Boeing..."

Of course, it was not only fishermen who were employed there to protect the Mirchink from alien eyes. There were also plenty of military personnel around the drilling ship. Here is what a former sailor from the SU-83 rescue ship, Ali Bichurin, has to say:

"Seven years ago I was serving in the Navy in Kamchatka. A couple of weeks after the incident (I do not recall the date) our rescue ship was sent to the Sea of Japan. We were not counting the days at that time—we still had two years left to serve.

"In the region of the search we would drift for a while and then we would sail around the floating drilling rig to cut off foreign ships. In keeping with international conventions, when doing underwater work the ships fly on their masts a white and blue 'Alpha' flag demanding caution, quiet sailing, and in general bypassing this zone so as to ensure the safety of the people under the water. But the Japanese and Americans were constantly trying to penetrate into the zone of the search.

"One time we were frightened by an American who was going at a good clip in a complete fog without lights. The watch sounded the alarm and we rushed up to the deck and saw that some huge thing was moving rapidly toward our side! The only light I could see was on the bridge of the American ship. Here it began to move backward and having covered no more than 10-15 meters, backed away from us. Our commander reported this incident on the radio to the large anti- submarine ship Petropavlovsk, where the command was located.

"One time we saw a bright orange object next to our side. We used a boat hook to pull it up—it turned out to be a radio buoy. The floating object was about a meter long had an antenna on top of it and underneath—a hydroacoustic device. Who owned the radio buoy and where did he go?—this I did not know."

...Yes, the Mirchink was undoubtedly the main scene where the main events developed. But at the time when the auxiliary crews were patrolling and drifting around the drilling ship, the people who were to become the main characters, the Murmansk divers, were sending telegrams home. With the request: Send money immediately! Those who were taken right out of the Barents Sea in haste and confusion by a military helicopter were settled in a dormitory. And forgotten for a long time.

Part VII

915C0014A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Jan 91 Union Edition p 5

["IZVESTIYA investigation" by Andrey Illesh: "Secret of the Korean 'Boeing-747'"]

[Text]

VII.

And so in October 1983 a relatively small area of the Sea of Japan not far from Moneron Island was extremely active. Now that we have finally begun to count up the money (including military expenditures) it would be interesting to find out at the same time the cost of the spectacle that was played out in the ocean waters and on its surface seven years ago. What could it have cost to bring 20 (eyewitnesses give this figure) fishing boats in to give the appearance of fishing, that is, to use not the Army but civilians and specialists? Those who were "catching fish" not far from Moneron state that they received their full wages and through their own bookkeeping offices. And, after all, what happened was not an operation in war time, when nobody pays much attention to expenditures. This was all a matter of confusing ourselves and others as successfully as possible.

And all the while the divers—it is thought that there are no more than 50 submariners in the country of the class found on the Spurt, homeported in Murmansk—were

sitting around in the dormitory near the city of Kholmsk getting bored with nothing to do until the end of September. This was reported in a meeting with our correspondent Sergey Mostovshchikovskiy by the chief of the diver service of the Arktimorneftegazrazvedka Production Association, Vladimir Vasilyevich Zakharchenko.

"When we were urgently, with a helicopter, pulled out of the sea, off the Sprut, and taken to Severomorsk they said: There is an emergency job on Sakhalin, we must go there and receive our assignment when we got there. What the essence of the work was—they did not explain. At that time we did not know anything, we did not see newspapers on the Sprut...

"Only after we were in the military aircraft, behind the conversations, through the soldiers' grapevine, as they say, did we learn that they had downed a passenger Boeing! As we were flying to Moscow it became clear what we were actually supposed to do. The only thing we did not know was what the depth was there. In Moscow two people from the main administration joined us and we moved further—toward Sakhalin. Everything there happened in a terrible hurry. In Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk we were met and taken to the base, to the dormitory.

"There they forgot about us. We were left alone until the end of the month...

"Only at the end of September did they deliver us on a military trawler to the drilling ship Mikhail Mirchink and officially tell us our task—to find the aircraft!"

We will interrupt Zakharchenko's story and go to a witness to what happened on the Mirchink before the divers were finally brought there.

...Zhan Andreyevich Aleshchenko, as I was told by my Far Eastern colleague Stanislav Glukhov who had associated with him, signed on to the Mirchink as senior assistant and worked there from 10 September until the end of the search work. In his words, the Mirchink did not immediately find the place where the Boeing had fallen—this was hampered not only by the extraordinary nature of the task but also by departmental separation. The fact is that searching for and bringing up the pieces were assigned to the Navy, but the coordinates of the region where the aircraft was shot down were known by the anti-aircraft defense. On the Mirchink there were marines from Sovetskaya Gavan, experts from military aviation who helped in identifying the fragments.

These experts determined the approximate area of the search—and it was fairly large at first. After the region was determined, the search had to be continued on the bottom, on the ground. A hydro-locator for side viewing could be used for this—a towed acoustic device with a high resolution power. With it one obtains a "picture," like a photograph of the sea bottom. The military did not have such a device (or was it "out of order"?). The Navy tried to comb this region with a trawl—actually they used this to pick up pieces of the aircraft. As the divers were to see later, the trawl scraped against the central part and dragged the Boeing almost a kilometer and a half. But for that "metal" the trawl dragged up from the bottom, I was told, the military expected orders and medals.

Incidentally, they did not do the main thing. Of course, it was impossible to determine the exact place where the "catch" got into the trawl.

There was one solution—they had to see the bottom. Let us continue V. Zakharchenko's story:

"They decided to drop a television camera from the Mirchink and, dragging it along with a tow boat, search... All the time while we were 'resting' in Kholmsk, this is what our colleagues were doing. But they did not find anything interesting. For a day or two we watched how the work was going with the television camera. From my viewpoint it was completely unthinkable since the breadth of the search area (with the degree of transparency of the water) was about three meters. What are three meters in the sea?...

"Then we suggested lowering a diving bell with live observers. They sent four operators down. One looked forward, the second—to the right, the third—to the left, and the fourth—directly under the bell. The breadth of the search area immediately increased to 15 meters. We decided to determine the place specifically—we put an acoustic gauge in place.

"The depth there was 174 meters. The bottom was level and dense—sand and a shallow layer of shells. There were no drops in depth.

"And exactly on the third day we found the aircraft.

"I had the idea that it would be whole. Well, perhaps just somewhat dented... The divers would go inside the aircraft and everyone would see what was there. In fact it was very severely damaged—it was blown to pieces, as it were. The largest things we saw were the bearing structures which are especially strong—they were about one and a half or two meters long and 50-60 centimeters wide. And the rest of it was broken into small pieces...

"In addition to the scraps of the aircraft there were many other things there—the things passengers usually put in their luggage. There was clothing, documents, wallets, women's purses... In the suits and dresses were documents. We were told to bring them up. We also brought up other things—not all the clothing, but it was difficult to get the documents from them down there. I repeat, we found passports and student cards... All this was taken by representatives of the Navy and right there it was turned over to the BPK (large anti-submarine boat—author.) Sevastopol. We did not write descriptions of what we found or a list either. Nothing like that... We simply turned over everything we found to the military men.

"At the end of the job the boys managed to film the job—we had a television camera. We went over all those remains of the aircraft and filmed the whole thing. But we had to turn the film over, they took it to Moscow.

Where? I do not know. A helpful person will always be found—somebody did not like what we were filming and reported us. They called us in made us turn it over. We did."

(If the film shot by the divers is stored in the archives of "competent organs" it is a sensation! For then truly unique frames will be made available for international expert evaluation. Incidentally, I will try to discuss later which documents and substantial evidence might, in our opinion, be stored in secret archives to this day.)

"We had several tasks," said Zakharchenko. "The first was to bring up the documents. All of them! The papers we found were all collected and taken up. The second was to look for parts of the radio equipment. Blocks, the radio itself, and so forth... Yes, we brought up and turned over everything, right down to the players—you know, those tape recorders for the public. At that time we did not have them in Russia at all... We also brought up the tapes from the computers and the tape recorders. They were mixed up and out of order. We gathered up all the blocks and boxes... We lowered a special basket from above—from on board the Mirchink—and the divers placed everything in it. This basket and everything brought up from the bottom was unloaded onto a roped-off deck where nobody was allowed to go. What we had found was gathered up by people who wore civilian clothing, but had military haircuts. (There were quite a few of these people with military haircuts but no uniforms.) They took what they needed, packed it up, and sent it ashore. And from there—to Moscow.

"On the 28th or 29th of October they said: 'That's all, boys, that will do...'

"But the main thing was not what we had seen there but what we had not seen—the divers had found practically no human bodies or remains..."

During the course of this journalistic investigation we met personally not only with V. Zakharchenko, who was in charge of the work under water. We spoke also with the people who spent six to eight hours a day under water. I will give their names: Grigoriy Matveyenko, Vadim Kondrabayev, and V. K-ov.

Now is the right time to acquaint the readers with a fragment of the stenographic transcript of their discussion. But I wish to note that this discussion consists of absolutely documented admissions that are appearing in the press for the first time. I did not tidy up the text in any way: Let the guys say what they say and recall what they recall. Therefore certain shocking details are unavoidable. Ultimately we are speaking about the lives of 269 people. Or, rather, about their deaths.

"Not a lot... If we are to believe there were more than 200 people on the aircraft... We thought that we would go down and see a cemetery... But... There were no bodies the first day or the next... We learned our way around. And when I saw some remains for the first time I was surprised but not frightened. And then we did find some bones. Two... I took them in my hand... Later I saw some human skin with hair, like a scalp. The hair was black... But when it was touched all this fell apart... I saw what I thought was a fist in a glove. And then, remember, we saw a torso without a head, wearing a jacket. And winding their way out from under the jacket were some white strands—apparently the remains of entrails..."

"I did not miss a single dive. I have quite a clear impression: The aircraft was filled with garbage, but there were really no people there. Why? Usually when an aircraft crashes, even a small one... As a rule there are suitcases and bags, or at least the handles of the suitcases. But there we found things that I would not think ordinary people would take on an airplane. Well, for instance, there was a roll of diverse materials—like from a garbage dump... It was as though all the clothing was in a pile and pieces had been torn out of it. Or it was as if it had been shot through— penetrated in many places. I personally did not find any remains."

"We worked there for almost a month! And there was practically nothing. There were not even very many carry-on things—there were very few jackets or coats or shoes. And everything there was in tatters! We found, for example, a few powder compacts. They remained intact and could be opened. But what was strange was the mirrors inside all of them were broken. The plastic shell was absolutely whole but the mirrors were all broken. Or take the umbrellas: All of them were in their cases, and the cases were whole—they were not even torn. But the umbrellas themselves were crushed and would not work... Knives and forks were crumpled. What kind of force did this blow have to have?!"

I admit that this turn in the conversation with the divers was quite unexpected by this journalist. One can understand why it is hard to believe the flier who shot the Korean Boeing-747 down when he says that there were 269 passengers on board. But the divers?! After all, they were the only eyewitnesses, in the full sense of the word, to how the tragedy in the sky ended. And there were discussions, including in the press, of the notion that this aircraft was quite empty when it made its way into the Far Eastern skies. That the entire story of KAL-007 was a monstrous mystification and falsification.

It seems that this is the conclusion arrived at by the divers as well. But...

Part VIII

915C0015A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
31 Jan 91 Union Edition p 8

["IZVESTIYA Investigation" by Andrey Illesh: "Secret of the Korean 'Boeing-747'"]

[Text]

VIII.

And so we left off saying that divers—the only people working directly amidst the wreckage of the aircraft—are

inclined to believe that there could possibly not have been any passengers on the passenger Boeing—or not in that number, in any case. I am convinced that this turn in the investigation proves unexpected not only for us, IZVESTIYA journalists. And it is no chance occurrence that the first Western disinformation that appeared following the December article, written jointly with Aleksandr Shalnev, dealt precisely with "corpses being destroyed on Sakhalin in a special crematorium." And in echo to the "sensation"—from telephone calls and visits by my colleagues from the United States, Japan, Korea, France, and other countries—just about the first question was: Did you manage to establish the location of the bodies?

The subject of what happened to the people, and were there in fact people on board the doomed aircraft, demands special tact and, I must admit, this is the most difficult thing for me to write about. But—it is necessary.

First of all let me state that the divers themselves are hesitant—they try to avoid categorical replies. Consider, for example, the words of V. Zakharchenko, leader of the Murmansk team of divers:

"Well, we found some pants with holes in the knees, a belt—also torn, everything else intact. What does this say? A person was probably wearing these pants... Then when we returned to Murmansk we started reading the newspapers—we found what they were writing especially interesting. I thought at that time—it is impossible to simulate the death of such a number of people...to organize their relatives who would be in mourning—in Korea, Thailand, the United States, Taiwan... You might be able to fake two or three—but two hundred or more?..."

"They explained to us—the divers—that an airplane generally breaks up, falls to pieces during its drop. And this one was flying at tremendous altitude at 900 kilometers per hour. When it fell, its speed increased even more. It would appear to have been moving at about 1,000 kilometers per hour when it hit the water and disintegrated. The parts retained their inertia in the water—in other words, they continued to break down. There were other statements, even to the effect that it exploded right before striking the water. Who knows?..."

"But there was no fire in the Boeing—that is for sure. Things were intact, although all thoroughly saturated with kerosene. So... you heard all kinds of talk among members of this expedition—like there were no people there, on this aircraft, that all this was a falsification. All in all, I too was of this opinion at first. Almost no traces indicating people there, except for personal effects. But there were personal effects! Judging from the clothing, clothing worn by people. Why? Because it was torn. The way I see it—the people were cut apart by fragments. In addition, over a month had already gone by when we got there. In fact it was almost two months—we discovered the plane 17 or 18 October. And then people spent many more days working on the bottom, where there are crabs, prawns of every variety, fish... They even saw octopus. I asked the fellows doing the diving—'Did you see any people?' There was no confident reply of 'Yes, we definitely did.' 'Sort of'—was how they answered. And there were never any official reports from them..."

I, a journalist, think the uncertainty of the divers is understandable—they truly expected to see a huge quantity of remains. An entire graveyard. And they were afraid of this encounter. Therefore the little they had occasion to confront in no way corresponded with their expectations. Hence their inevitable uncertainty. But the "cockpit" was empty as well—or, more accurately, the place where its fragments were. Not a trace of pilots, navigators, flight attendants. And the aircraft would not be able to do without them.

Most of all, explanations of the strange disappearance of people can be found in the thinking of the divers themselves. Among the fragments, of course, were crabs and crayfish. Some of the people who had occasion to sail and work in those regions assert that two weeks is an entirely sufficient amount of time for there to remain no trace whatsoever of organic tissue. The inhabitants of the sea do their work, as does the seawater itself. (I encountered a similar situation while hunting for seals in the Sea of Okhotsk.) With respect to bones and skulls, the impact of the aircraft hitting the water was such that heavy-duty metallic parts were unable to withstand the stress. How could fragile bones do so? In addition, one must take into account the flow velocity at the very bottom and movement of water currents throughout this depth of 170 meters.

At our request, IZVESTIYA correspondent Sergey Agafonov went to Tokyo University's Department of Forensic Medicine. Here is what forensic anatomy experts told him:

"A corpse cannot rest at a sea depth of 200 meters or so. The specific gravity of the sea water will inevitably force it to the surface, and it will either be carried away by the current or—significantly less frequently—will 'drift' in the region of the 'maritime grave.' The more time elapses, the more a corpse is subject to decomposition, which is intensified in the sea environment. It would be an exceedingly complicated matter, however, to predict the condition of a corpse without knowing the specific conditions of local vegetation, its state at the moment of death, and the amount of time spent in the deep water."

Our correspondent asked the same question at the department of forensic medical expertise at Japan's Maritime Safety Administration. There he received the following information:

"As a rule, water pushes a corpse to the surface, but at very great depths 'variations are possible,' especially if you are dealing with a significant distance from shore. At a depth of 200 meters, a corpse's condition would be influenced by other factors—its state at the moment of death, structure of the sea bottom, water temperature, currents, depth of silt in the area or its complete absence.

The 'result' depends on a combination of these factors. Thus, there can be no definitive answer without specific knowledge."

And so, a final judgment regarding this matter should be rendered by biologists and oceanologists (we are consulting them and awaiting their reaction).

For myself, I will add one thing—if the chief aim of searching for the aircraft were to find the bodies of those who perished, giving relatives the opportunity to conduct at least a symbolic burial, if this were the aim and not the conduct of some super-secret operation involving a tremendous number of extras, if the Murmansk divers were dispatched to the area without delay and began their burdensome task right away—then most likely we would not have to discuss such a cruel subject. Excuse me...

No, they were not looking for people at all. They were looking for something they feared more than the tears and curses of those who lost their loved ones...

Here are more excerpts from the verbatim reports of divers Grigoriy Matveyenko, Vladimir K., and Vadim Kondrabayev.

"No, no one asked us to recover people's remains. Only—components, tapes, documents, the black box. True, they did not show us a black box, but they described how it should look. And so we brought up boxes—there were various ones meeting the description... We brought up some Boeing parts, the skin of the aircraft. There was a piece of aircraft skin with a symbol on it—a circle and two commas. You know—the two commas probably merged together in the circle. (Apparently this is the emblem of the Korean airline company KAL—author.) They brought up a life raft. A decent knife was found. But there was little time for investigating on the bottom. In some places the layer of scrap-metal fragments was a meter and a half deep, a real heap! What you saw was an empty, level field, then all of a sudden—the landing gear. Or a bra. And nothing more. Then once again a major fragment. Again a pile, like on a scrap heap... Pieces of metal, torn cloth, wires. You begin to dig and you find objects, more objects... Children's things too. I remember—it hit me like a shock—a pouch, you know—the kind they carry little babies in, like a rucksack. And adult items too, of course. A lot of women's underwear, some documents, suitcases. Tape recorders and similar equipment. But they were crushed as if by a sledge hammer. Then—three or four books. Vietnamese balsam. We put it all into a large basket, which was brought to the surface. It was about two meters by one-and-a-half. We put the most valuable items into the diving bell—cameras, tape recorders. We did not place valuables in the basket—there were waves and the like during ascent. They might fall or be lost."

"There were a great many odds and ends. Once we found a stack of pelts of various sorts... About 200 of them. We tied them to the diving bell. But when we ascended—the water, the atmosphere... The entire bundle was generally torn apart... Only one or two were found on the surface..."

Vadim Kondrabayev's voice on the tape recorder is almost inaudible—he almost completely lost it after the work on Sakhalin. He speaks in a whisper and doctors cannot help him. This work cost a great deal of effort and energy on the part of all four (Sergey Godorozha worked underwater in addition to the divers we are already familiar with)—they spent almost a month in a dark pressure chamber, from which they went out only to the diving bell that them onto the ocean floor. People who saw them upon their return to the light of day say that they looked horrible—red eyes from bursting blood vessels, paleness to the point of turning blue... Their working day on the ocean floor was almost always greater than the norm—five, sometimes six hours. Once, when a powerful acoustical device from American ships began to operate, the divers even had to terminate their work until the large antisubmarine warfare ship Sevastopol "squeezed the Americans back" a bit. The divers' work area was surrounded by buoys and patrolled by trawlers—this was the only way they could be protected from unbearably painful sensations. ("You got the impression that a blunt nail was being pounded into your ear. They urgently put us into the bell and brought us up...")

In his memory of all this, V. Zakharchenko keeps the order of the Gas Industry Ministry and a "brief description of work accomplished." The latter document ends up with a "commentary": "The work of the divers was conducted at a depth of 174 meters. They accomplished 150 man-hours of work on the floor, making 14 descents over the course of 19 days. The time of prolonged stay amounted to 31 days, 13 hours. The longest uninterrupted period of work under water was six hours, 18 minutes. This is the first time such results have been achieved in the history of our Motherland."

And here is the text of Order 42/10, dated 26 January 1984: "For outstanding accomplishment of a special mission of the government and the high professional expertise exhibited in this regard, Comrade S.G. Gorshkov, commander in chief of the Navy, fleet admiral of the Soviet Union, expresses his gratitude 3 November 1983 to the group of divers and diving specialists."

The order was issued for such award to be entered into the labor records of the divers within three days and a report on execution rendered. In addition to the admiral's gratitude, the divers and their support group were awarded 200, and in some cases 250 rubles.

Medals were affixed to military jackets and uniforms during that time, and the number of stars large and small on epaulets increased noticeably. Perhaps the bounty awarded—the divers continue to laugh at to this day—was so small that they would very quickly be able to forget everything that happened that autumn? And the effort made to forget about them! In any case, these

fellows were truly amazed to see the arrival of a correspondent—"You are the first person to come and see us in seven years." "Only now have I related that I saw human remains—to this day I have treated this as a 'military secret.'" "We were certain everybody had forgotten about us. It turns out we are still good for something."

I have to confess that I exaggerated somewhat when I said that, other than the gratitude expressed on paper, the divers retain nothing about the Korean airliner. For not all the objects brought to the surface wound up on the deck under guard.

Part IX

915C0016A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
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["IZVESTIYA investigation" by Andrey Illesh: "Secret of the Korean 'Boeing-747'"]

[Text]

IX.

On 29 October, the command was given to wind down search work on the drilling ship Mikhail Mirchink: Apparently, the thing for which the work was being conducted had already been found.

They "decompressed" divers—simply put, they reduced pressure in a compression chamber gradually in order for four guys to be able to return to normal life after one month in confinement.

Only fishermen remained in the search area after the November holiday; they continued their secret fishing for several more days.

The Mirchink sailed away on its drilling business. Members of its crew stowed away in their compartments something by which to remember their unusual and mysterious job. Former first mate of the Mirchink Zh. Aleshchenko:

"Of course, it was prohibited to take anything from what was brought to the surface; however, the boys had difficulty staying away from a 'souvenir' by which to remember this. I saw fragments from about five meters away... Somewhere I even had a piece of Boeing skin—laminated duralumin and some kind of polymer film between the two layers of aluminum... Even two documents of some kind ended up with me. I wanted to give them to our fishermen who were sailing to Seoul on one occasion. I said they could be something by which to remember loved ones. However, the fishermen did not want to get involved. Our fear is ingrained..."

Former operator of the Mirchink V. Verbitskiy:

"Fragments were brought up, registered, and taken away (to Nevelsk, it appears), and stored at the port there. Many people took Boeing fragments for souvenirs, and machined wine-glasses from titanium nuts... Apparently, this plane came down on the water real hard because even titanium nuts burst..."

Chief of the diver service V. Zakharchenko:

"They did not let anyone go to the place where the military stored things brought up from the sea floor. Nonetheless, our entire crew got themselves souvenirs. I remember that on one occasion the military men forgot a large piece of skin on deck. This was thick metal. By next morning, the crew had sawed it apart and snatched it up. In the morning, they missed it, but it was not there. They said: 'Where did we leave this hunk of metal?', and all of us went: 'We have no idea...'"

Lieutenant Colonel Ilya Mamedov is deputy commander for political affairs in a unit at Kursk Garrison. In September 1983, he served in the Far East. He was the secretary of a party bureau in an infantry regiment...

"After the Boeing was shot down, we, the flower of the commanders and political officers of the district, were gathered in Khabarovsk. A stormy discussion of recent events in the skies over the Far East developed. The point was that prior to the Boeing tragedy American reconnaissance aircraft had violated our airspace in the eastern part of the country several times, and gotten away with impunity. As Air Force people told me, their penetrations were hundreds of kilometers deep. So, passions regarding violators of the airspace of our country were at a high enough pitch before the Boeing appeared in the sky. As came out at this meeting of the district party aktiv, the aircraft was downed on the order of then Commander of the Far Eastern Military District Ivan Tretyak. It may be no accident that this utterly ground-troops general later headed the Air Defense Troops of the country."

In the lobby of the Khabarovsk meeting, they vigorously discussed a documentary filmed at the location where the Boeing fell. A group of military men saw it. They even said that the wreckage of the plane could be seen very well on film. I know a person who at this time served as a political department instructor on the Kamchatka; he even keeps a fragment of the Boeing. Later, they classified this documentary top secret. It was not easy to get through to the location of this catastrophe: After the successful attack by a Soviet fighter, there was a general stationed on virtually every little island..."

Therefore, no matter how hard the employees of competent organs labored, endeavoring to hide all traces of the Korean plane, they did not succeed. The divers themselves could not resist the temptation to keep at least something as a souvenir. After a short period of rest, they came back to their Murmansk diver vessel, the Sprut.

Their former colleague N. Grebtsov recalls how they appeared there:

"As I recall, it was already December by the time they arrived. Frenchmen were visiting our vessel: We were

holding a training course. On that day, there was something resembling a banquet. By the time we had gotten quite sloshed several divers barged into the mess room and joined us. I remember very well how they began producing various gadgets from their pockets. I will not name all of them, but I do remember a golf ball, and children's toys as well. The divers were very excited... Later, they began telling some stories, but reluctantly. Some managed to find out more, and others less. Even if they did not have the divers sign a secrecy pledge, they certainly warned them to remain tight-lipped about it..."

However, golf balls or titanium nuts are trifles; of course, nobody would have had them sign any particular pledge on account of those. If there were an object about which they were to be really silent for all time to come it was the so-called "black box." It was the main object of interest and the principal goal of the entire array of search activities. It was for the sake of these boxes that the planes flew, the ships sailed, and the divers risked their lives.

Here is another excerpt from the narration of V. Zakharchenko:

"I know the following from expert sources. These boxes are objects that by opening we may obtain complete information on all flight parameters, the status of the aircraft, and all conversations that have taken place. This is why 'black boxes' are immensely valuable.

"It is thought that when a plane is lost, especially if it flies over an ocean, the boxes will remain afloat after the fall and will switch on their radio beacons so that they will able to fly in by helicopter or sail by in a vessel, retrieve these boxes, and determine the cause of the catastrophe. This is why it is quite likely... After all, our vessels arrived there right away. Let us assume that ships from Japan or some other place could have beaten us to it. They may have fished out the boxes. However, were they outfitted with this equipment, did they have precisely this on the KAL-007 flight? I do not know. I am not a pilot, and I cannot assert anything with 100-percent certainty.

"We were told that our work was secret, that upon our arrival at home we should try to forget everything. This did not happen. To be sure, I kept a diary and wrote everything down. They confiscated the diary from me when the search was over. (At this point, the narrator laughed and threw up his hands). My God, that is our life!.. Well- wishers came forward, I was called in to the special department, and told: 'You kept a diary, did you not?' I said: 'Yes.' 'Turn it in, please.' I did. I went, took it out of my suitcase, and surrendered it. They also took away a movie... Well-wishers... Memory is all that remains.

"I cannot say anything positively about whether they managed to get the 'black box' or not; however, I cannot deny anything either. After all, all kinds of parts and boxes were brought up. Could these boxes have been among them? I am not a specialist, I cannot say for sure whether they were or weren't... At first, I was firmly convinced that the plane was empty, but then there were things and documents... No, I don't know.

"However, we were not the only ones to go underwater. To be absolutely precise, I should say that the Academy of Sciences sent in its vessel with underwater vehicles. I think they had OSA's ("manned stabilized vehicles"—note by A. Illesh). They retrieved something. They handed over to us a bright orange ball. They did not bring up anything else."

A bright orange ball. Something similar comes up in many recollections of witnesses and participants in the events. Here is an example from the narration by Zh. Aleshchenko:

"I remember for sure: They found these boxes, the military took them away, the so-called 'black boxes...' They said there were two, but I personally saw one—a small bright-red ball, the size of a volleyball. As I understood, no special (spy) equipment was installed on the Boeing. It was simply overflying Kamchatka and Sakhalin in order to cause our air defense assets to work..."

Red, orange, or pink; one, two, or three; the size of a volleyball or a typewriter. These are the differences in the "testimony" we have been able to obtain. However, all discrepancies in the description of the "item of particular significance" notwithstanding (let us not forget that it has been seven years since!), there are considerably more answers in the affirmative—"yes, they were found!"—than there are doubts. I will quote one more anonymous piece of testimony by a person working on the Mirchink, but I will warn that the editorial office cannot guarantee that this—anonymous—information is completely authentic. As far as the sources of information themselves are concerned, we have a right to (and must!) keep them secret. So, here is the narration of a person who came to IZVESTIYA:

"Four 'black boxes' are supposed to be standard issue on a Boeing. Three were retrieved—two normal and one deformed. They look like large doughnuts covered with sealed lids; there are joints for plugging them into on-board circuits. They are usually mounted close to the side doors. In general, they are standard, as a rule, red or pink. These boxes are built especially in order to withstand a powerful shock. They were lifted on board in bags filled with water. The military hauled them away from the Mirchink on a patrol boat in the same bags filled with water. The remnants of the plane's body were searched with the help of specialists in order to determine whether nonorganic (simply put, spy—note by A. Illesh) equipment was present. The latter was not found on the plane."

Now about a telephone call to the editorial office. My interlocutor was calm, severe, and unequivocal:

"I am a military person; I am passing through Moscow on a business trip. I am prepared to share with you some knowledge I have of the Korean Boeing. However, I will

warn you right off—I will only talk on the phone, I will not meet with you, and I will not indicate my rank, name, or place of service. Is this communication satisfactory to you?"

I had to say that it was satisfactory. I understood from my interlocutor's very first phrases that this was neither a provocation nor disinformation. The point is that he largely discussed things, materials, that were already in IZVESTIYA files; he mentioned facts, names, and events that we had already learned about in the course of the investigation and that had been confirmed by pertinent documented admissions. Still, there were also some new nuances in his story, and this is why I present it in brief:

"At the time, I served in the Navy, and I may be considered a participant in the operation of searching for the Korean Boeing-747. The main nodes of this operation were as possible: A group of military trawlers immediately sailed from Sakhalin to the impact location identified from up in the air by the things and fragments that floated to the surface. The expected impact area was 'staked,' and buoys were placed in order to mark the area of search actions. The trawlers combed the area using specific equipment. Headquarters, to which a hero of the Soviet Union, who then held the post of the chief of Air Force intelligence, belonged—alas, I do not remember his name and patronymic—was set up in Nevelsk, on Sakhalin. This is also where technical specialists from the defense industry were, in particular, from the Ministry of Aviation Industry. Another headquarters was based on the flagship Petropavlovsk. It was headed by Rear Admirals Vladimirov and Apollonov. The entire 'naval component' was headed personally by the commander of the Pacific Flotilla, Vladimir Vasilyevich Sidorov; he is retired now. Objects and fragments from this plane, which came down in neutral waters (the latter assertion needs to be especially verified—note by A. Illesh), that were floating on the surface and were picked up by the military trawlers were transferred to both the BPK [Large Antisubmarine Warfare Ship] Petropavlovsk and to Nevelsk where they were thoroughly segregated by top-flight specialists. There was just one purpose—to find 'the black box,' or more precisely, the 'black boxes,' instruments from the Boeing the decoding of which was priceless for determining the real state of affairs.

"I dare to maintain that exactly this 'black box' was retrieved and delivered specifically to Nevelsk where it was inspected by specialists from the aircraft industry. After this, it was placed in a container that was filled with sea water. Apparently, it was impossible to do detailed testing on Sakhalin, and this supersecret package was sent to Moscow—I am a witness."

"Where to? Do you know the addressee?"

"Unfortunately, I do not. However, I am certain that the people I have named plus then Commander of the Far Eastern Military District Tretyak know this, of course. However, will they answer? I am not convinced that they will tell us about this now, despite there actually being no risk to them. Most of the people I have named are retired..."

The navy man said good-bye and hung up.

[Photograph accompanies the article captioned:

"**In the pictures:** Objects retrieved from the sea floor at the location of the Boeing impact and kept by divers as souvenirs—forks and knives with the KAL logo, an ashtray, coins, a key chain, golf balls, and an aircraft part..."]

Part X

915C0017A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
1 Feb 91 Union Edition p 7

["IZVESTIYA investigation" by Andrey Illesh: "Secret of the Korean 'Boeing-747'"]

[Text]

X.

...I still wince at the ring of that telephone, although I should have gotten used to it long ago. People call that yellow-white apparatus with the gold state seal on the dial the "direct line." Officially it is an ATS-2—a government line. It is not usually used for everyday calls to the newspaper. People on the other end of the line still believe they have the right to ask, to "advise," and even to reprimand a "misbehaving" press. And although this telephone has been ringing with recommendations less and less often in recent years, an unpleasant feeling connected with the white apparatus remains.

So, after publication of the article "Seven Years After the Tragedy Over Sakhalin" (IZVESTIYA No. 353) in December of last year, that for the first time cited facts contradicting the official Soviet version of the loss of the South Korean "Boeing-747," the direct line rang. The person on the other end introduced himself and invited me to come to the General Staff of the Armed Forces at a convenient time to be acquainted with documents that had been specially prepared for IZVESTIYA.

I was genuinely surprised by such a quick military reaction to the article and, primarily, by such benevolent interest.

The General Staff building was striking by its abundance of marble, the difficulty of gaining admittance, and the endless doors that the man accompanying me opened using a special code. And by the detailed diagrams of the Kulikovo and Poltava campaigns hung along the walls. They led me finally to modest room but, judging by the quantity and variety of special telephones (there was no question of an ATS-2, the direct line, here!), its master, a major general in shirtsleeves with cloth epaulets was a significant person.

I do not intend to give his name and position because I am convinced that what followed has no direct relation to him, an extremely busy man (our conversation was interrupted by calls on a top secret line, and the general spoke into the receiver in short phrases like, "What, he already took off?" "He is on landing approach?" "I understand, take action!"). It seemed to me that this whole show that took place in the office bored the general himself. And when the moment to say goodbye arrived, he shook my hand and escorted me out with pleasure—everything ended pleasantly. In the office, in addition to the general and two colonels, there was one more man in civilian clothes who was apparently a completely chance participant and who did not even introduce himself. During our entire conversation the man in civilian clothes intently studied some probably extremely interesting article in the newspaper. Or perhaps a photograph... It is difficult to imagine that some outsider could penetrate so many doors and checkpoints to simply sit and read...

So, what kind of information did they wish to present a newspaper with a circulation of many millions concerning so tragic and so secret a story as the loss of 269 people in the sky over Sakhalin? From the very first words of the conversation, my naive expectations were shattered: It was as though I were being lectured at the local police station on the harm of newspaper articles on that subject. Because they "drive a wedge between the military and the people," they "defame" and "slander," and finally they "play into the hands of the special services of the West," etc. etc. Furthermore, the newspaper may "hinder the president in the fulfillment of an important international mission." The only information that I carried away from the building of the General Staff was that there was no counting on information from the military.

Here, for example, is a request that the newspaper sent to the General Staff before I went there:

"From IZVESTIYA to General of the Army M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces.

"Dear Mikhail Aleksandrovich! ... as the newspaper THE NEW YORK TIMES has reported, four influential American senators sent the president of the USSR letters requesting 'help in getting to the bottom of the secrets that still surround the loss of the South Korean aircraft.' In conjunction with this, we ask that you allow our correspondent to familiarize himself with documents from the investigation of the circumstances of the aircraft's loss. At the present time they are at the disposal of the Service for Security of Aviation Aircraft of the Ministry of Defense."

The newspaper received the following response:

"Your request for admittance by a correspondent to the documents from the investigation of the circumstances of the loss of the South Korean aircraft in 1983 has been reviewed by order of the chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces.

"The Air Forces and the Service for Security of Aviation Aircraft do not have the indicated documents at their disposal.

"Lieutenant General of Aviation A. Malyukov, chief of the General Staff of the Air Forces."

To be honest, such a generic response could not help but annoy us. And here is why. In 1989, our correspondent was given access to the materials of the investigation and had even taken excerpts from several of the documents. These materials on the "Boeing" were then kept in the Central Inspectorate of the Air Forces. Had the documents in fact been destroyed? Not at all. As an officer of the Air Forces informed us, they are whole and are located in the same place they were 18 months ago—in that same service. True, this organization now has a different name—Service for Security of the Air Forces of the Ministry of Defense. Perhaps the name change has complicated the search for the document the editorial office is interested in. After all, it would be unfortunate to suppose that Lieutenant General A. Malyukov, the chief of staff of the Air Forces, does not know which safe secret papers are lying at any given moment.

Does that refusal not correspond more to the plans of ill-intentioned Western special services—their threats were explained to me at the General Staff building—than the efforts of a newspaper to reveal the truth?

Unfortunately, during our journalistic investigation we came to the conclusion that the Ministry of Defense does not wish to reveal the truth concerning the "Boeing." More accurately, highly placed bureaucrats do not wish to do it.

But, as it should be, there are many courageous people among the servicemen. They have been calling the editorial office themselves and sending in their own recollections on new details of that tragedy.

Here is a conversation with an officer, a participant in the search for the "Boeing-747," who asked that his name not be printed:

"The search for the 'Boeing' can be compared with conducting a large-scale operation. We took the data of the air defense. We fed it into a computer. Highly qualified specialists computed the supposed coordinates of the aircraft's fall. We enlisted the services of radar stations. They registered the proposed region according to bearing and distance. Several hours later we had in our hands a mathematically calculated ellipse. A Navy navigation officer worked on it. Soon we were in the necessary region. Minesweeping gear was put to work. The area was very full of ships. That hampered the search. In front—as IZVESTIYA correctly reported—went minesweeping groups. If my memory serves me, there were six of them. Afterward came hydrographic

ships with sonar sensors. And at the end were mine-sweepers with 'Lan' mine detectors. That way they searched a single area with three types of ships. When all the types of ships confirmed that there was contact, they sent in the divers.

"At that time foreign ships and boats were circling nearby. Americans, Japanese, and there were others." (In my investigation I described in some detail the "naval battle" that took place in autumn 1983 near Moneron [as transliterated] Island. However any details, especially those related by servicemen, as well as participants in the events, are invaluable. Therefore we will let the military officer have his say.—Author)

"We knew that the enemy had first-class equipment," the officer continues. "Some of our people flew over to the region where they had gathered. On their return, they were amazed at the state-of- the-art quality of the ships of the foreigners. We had never dreamed of such ships... However, despite all that we were the ones who found the 'Boeing,' not they. This is what must be written about. Our people achieved the goal! And IZVESTIYA reports about whatever it wants, but not about that..."

"But after all, the military commanders will not give us documents and do not even wish to talk about this peculiar, in my view, 'achievement'..."

"Nor do I wish to. Because I do not know whether my story will do more harm or good. If only I were convinced that this would serve the good of the Fatherland, forgive my elevated style. Then, perhaps... But your publication, I fear, may cause us to quarrel not only with the Americans but with the Japanese and the Koreans as well. And our country will not get loans and aid."

I had to remind the officer of the Soviet leadership's position, evaluating IZVESTIYA's investigation quite differently. Only then did the conversation continue.

"...Events developed in this manner. The Americans present in the area of the search tried no less than our people to find the aircraft. There was a peculiar competition in the Sea of Japan. Finally the Soviet sailors managed to find the aircraft. And the cunning of V. Sidorov, commanding officer of the Pacific Ocean Navy, contributed to this substantially."

"Yes, the idea of fooling the Americans came to Navy Commander V. Sidorov," another military sailor tells us, having helped in the search effort on military ships that autumn.

"He was the one who ordered that a fake 'black box,' extremely difficult to distinguish from the real one, be thrown into the sea away from the area the aircraft was supposed to have gone down: The box also broadcast special homing signals. The fake was thrown overboard to a significant depth. (I personally doubt the full authenticity of this fact.—Author)

"What happened afterward? Few knew of Sidorov's idea. Suddenly leaders from the General Staff broke in on Sidorov during the night. They were all very alarmed. 'We heard that the Americans have already found the aircraft! They have all moved off to another area. You know nothing about it and are not searching where you should be. Tomorrow the Americans are inviting correspondents on board. (Not Soviet correspondents, of course. Ours were nowhere nearby.—Author) They are making quite a fuss, so they must have found it.'

"Sidorov pretended to be alarmed. The next day, for the sake of appearances, he sent two search groups to the new area where the Americans were searching. 'But the depth there is 620 meters,' objected the sailors. 'Move side by side. You can even hamper the Americans,' instructed their commanding officer.

"The groups left. But we continued to search the old place. For the safety of the search and so that no one would be able to intrude on our business, Sidorov ordered that we be taken into a ring. Five Soviet warships sailed close around us. A little later 12 more joined them. We did everything to ensure that even a seal could not slip through. Finally there was a real 'catch.' At first we raised a few objects. We laid them out and studied them. IZVESTIYA was correct in writing that anything especially interesting ended up in the hands of the members of the General Staff...

"And finally—success! What we had been searching for—the 'black boxes'—were found. We were looking for three pieces. We were all very proud that we had succeeded in carrying out the mission. Even more, we had gotten the better of the Americans! The Americans, whose monitoring equipment was better than ours. And three 'black boxes'—and in this your newspaper was right—appeared on board the Soviet ship."

I—a journalist—will not presently comment on the position of the serviceman from the point of view of the priority of human values: Instead of international cooperation—maneuvers, fooling the enemy, top secrets... And, not a word about the 269 passengers lost aboard that "Boeing." In any case things could not be any different at that time. The orders, carried out without discussion, told them to act just this way.

...Yes I must grieve—I still have not succeeded in glancing into the "black box" (or even into one of the three raised from the bottom of the Sea of Japan). In the path of the newspaper's investigation, whose opportunities are limited for many other understandable reasons, has appeared another more secret and mysterious "black box" or, more accurately, a "black hole." It is that giant hidden space in our lives, whose keys are kept at the headquarters of the Navy, the headquarters of the Air Forces, the GRU (the Main Intelligence Directorate), the KGB and MFA [Ministry of Foreign Affairs], and the Ministry of Civil Aviation, in whose test-flight institute (according to my information), they deciphered the records of the instruments from the Sea of Japan... To crack this state "black box," intact even now, and to understand why the secrets and, let us say, mistakes of

the past are being so stubbornly and zealously preserved—this means to deliver all of us from the risk of their repetition in the future.

And in the meantime, this bulwark stands guard not only over secret deeds that are in the distant past: It connects our past with our possible future. The past that included not only the Korean "Boeing" but also the war in Afghanistan, the persecution of dissidents, political prisoners, (and—what else at the beginning of the eighties?)...

It connects this past of ours with, God forbid, a similar future for us. And the solution to the secret of the Korean "Boeing" is simultaneously an attempt to break this evil connection.

The first stage of our investigation is coming to an end, although it is of course still too early to dot the "i." Ahead is publication of the articles of our New York correspondent Aleksandr Shalnev. IZVESTIYA has extremely serious questions for the American side as well. We cannot consider the investigation finished as long as they go unanswered. For example:

Why were records made by two American radar operators erased? Who specifically gave the order for them to be erased? Who specifically did not take measures to preserve these records?

In the course of three days—from 11-14 August 1983—a South Korean passenger aircraft with the tail number HL-7442 was at Washington's Andrews Air Base, which is not designated for passenger aircraft. It was that same "Boeing-747" that three weeks later was shot down over Sakhalin. What was it doing at Andrews and, incidentally, at the hangar of a firm that is involved in delivering special electronic equipment?

Why did George Schultz, the U.S. secretary of state at that time, arrange it so that a group of investigators of the administration for transportation safety, sent to Alaska to conduct an investigation of the tragedy, immediately returned to Washington without having begun the investigation?

Approximately two hours before KAL-007 entered Soviet airspace, dispatchers of the civilian service of American ground control exchanged the following conversation: "Hey, boys, someone is approaching the zone of Russian air defense." "That cannot be, are you joking?" "He needs to be warned."

Was a warning given? If not, why not? Who ordered it not to be given?

How could the aircraft's deviation from course by such a significant distance go unnoticed by the Americans?

Is it true that, despite official assertions to the effect that military radar services do not monitor flights in that zone, monitoring was nonetheless being conducted?

In addition, we believe that the Soviet portion of the investigation will undoubtedly be continued as well. And the newspaper hopes for the aid of those of its readers who were witnesses and participants. We await their letters and reports. The investigation continues.

Northeast Asia

Reports Continue on Kurils Debate With Japan

Soviet, Japanese Stances Viewed

PM0801133591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jan 91 Second Edition p 7

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent Igor Latyshev "View From Tokyo": "'Bold Decisions' are a Reciprocal Matter"]

[Text] The start of a new year is a good excuse for statesmen to make public pronouncements explaining their policy. This practice was particularly appropriate on this occasion because Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu reorganized his cabinet literally on the eve of the New Year holiday. Foreign policy figured perhaps more prominently than ever before in the speeches by the government head and his ministers before and at the New Year.

They dealt pretty extensively, in particular, with questions connected with the situation in the Persian Gulf region, friction between the United States and Japan in the economic sphere, and also Japan's relations with the Southeast Asian countries to which the country's prime minister intends to pay official visits this very month. But the top people in the Japanese Government are focusing attention above all on USSR President M.S. Gorbachev's upcoming visit to Japan—a visit which, the local public generally agrees, will be an outstanding historic event, if only because no Soviet government head has ever visited the country before.

Pronouncements by the Japanese prime minister and Foreign Minister Taro Nakayama concerning relations with the Soviet Union have been remarkably positive of late. There is absolute support for the reforms that are being conducted in our country to effect the transition to a market economy. The fundamental ideas of new thinking, which form the basis of the Soviet Union's current foreign policy, are welcomed. The Japanese statesmen are sympathetic with regard to the difficulties perestroyka is encountering at the present stage, expressing a willingness to grant the Soviet Union some financial assistance to buy more medicines and food.

At the same time, some pronouncements by Japanese state policy leaders are disappointing in that they demonstrate a distinct desire to curb the development of good neighborly contacts between the two countries. This is indicated by the artificial blend of good intentions toward our country, as mentioned above, and territorial claims, which are not good at all and, as is known, stem from a nonacceptance of the results of World War II and are therefore unacceptable to the Soviet Union. This is exemplified by Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu's statement to journalists on completing the formation of his new cabinet. On the one hand, this statement unequivocally expresses a readiness to contribute to the development of friendly relations between Japan and the Soviet Union. But, on the other hand, it emphasizes an intention that is not very compatible with this readiness: To continue the notorious course of "linking economic and political questions," which means deliberately inhibiting economic links between the two countries in order to compel the Soviet side, which has a stake in these links, to concede to Japanese territorial demands. "We cannot," Kaifu said, "unscrupulously separate politics from economics and leave aside the question of the return of our northern islands to Japan and the conclusion of a peace treaty." The prime minister made it crystal clear that this is the course he is hoping will bring him success at the talks with the Soviet President during his upcoming visit to Japan in April. Hinting at the possibility of unilateral Soviet concessions, Kaifu went on to say that he expects the USSR President to take "bold" steps to meet the Japanese territorial demands. "We will insist," he said, "that President Gorbachev make a bold decision on the territorial question...."

But authoritative Japanese statesmen and political observers must be perfectly well aware that it is futile to pin one's hopes on success of the policy of pressurizing the Soviet Union and on the possibility of getting our country to make unilateral concessions on Japanese territorial demands. The futility of these hopes is pretty clear from USSR President M.S. Gorbachev's answers to the questions put by Toshitada Nakae, president of the Japanese newspaper company ASAHI SHIMBUN. They were published in Japan on 30 December. "Everything must not hinge on the 'territorial issue,'" the USSR President said. "It is time to tackle all the problems on a reciprocal basis and arrive at a peace treaty.... I would not make the signing of a peace treaty dependent on one side's preliminary conditions. A treaty should be the product of a mutual consideration of interests and possibilities."

Aware of the futility of the current head-on claims to the four southernmost islands of the Kuril group, some Japanese politicians and diplomats are attempting, on the threshold of the Soviet-Japanese summit talks, to find new ways of attaining their goals. Noteworthy in this respect was a New Year article in the newspaper YOMIURI, which reported that opinion in Japanese government circles was generally in favor of changing the current Japanese position on the "territorial question." According to the article, the gist of the new position, which the Japanese government is supposed to adopt, is that it should drop the demand for the simultaneous handover of the four Kuril islands of Habomai, Shikotan, Kunashir, and Iturup and display a willingness to take them "in installments." In this case it is proposed that it "agree" to take two islands (Habomai and Shikotan) and then step up the demands and, in the course of subsequent talks, secure the transfer of Kunashir and Iturup to Japanese control "by the end of the 20th century."

The article does not specify how this idea arose and who suggested it. But, to all appearances, it was conceived by

rather influential representatives of government circles, perhaps of the foreign ministry. Otherwise media so close to the government would not have frontpaged the aforementioned information as the main news of the new year.

By calling their plan "more flexible" than the Japanese government's current position, the anonymous authors are clearly intending to pass their proposals off as a "compromise" to the Soviet Union, thus giving the public the impression that the Japanese side is allegedly prepared to make "compromises" in talks with the Soviet Union. This "compromise" is essentially highly illusory, however, since it is based on the old expectations of unilateral concessions by the Soviet side, specifically of the ultimate handover of the four Kuril islands to Japan. The handover is merely delayed somewhat.

Nevertheless, the appearance of "new ideas" in Japanese Government circles, however tentative, gives rise to a degree of optimism. Evidently, in the conditions of the new international atmosphere that has been established in the Far East under pressure from relaxation of tension, trends toward the abandonment of territorial demands which are known to be unnacceptable to the Soviet Union are beginning to make an impact in the Japanese political world. How one hopes that these trends will increase! The sooner they prevail in the minds of Japanese government circles, the more quickly both our countries will move toward the signing of a peace treaty and the more productive will be the Soviet-Japanese summit talks in April. The "boldness" the Japanese prime minister wants the Soviet President to display should come not only from the Soviet Union, but equally from Japan.

Kuril Residents Oppose Transfer

LD0401091691 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 4 Jan 91

[Text]l According to two reports from INTERFAX, the residents of the islands of Kunashir, Shikotan, and Iturup have addressed a message to President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in connection with his forthcoming visit to Japan. In the letter, published in the local press, it says that during the visit the issue may be raised of the so-called northern territories. By this is meant four islands of the southern Kuril ridge. The residents of these islands are calling on the president not to agree to the southern Kuril islands being handed over to Japan. The message notes, however, that everything possible must be done to promote economic and cultural cooperation with Japan.

Rumors on Secret Deal Denied

PM0602095191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Feb 91 First Edition p 6

[Report by TASS political observer Yu. Vorobyevskiy: "Diversionary Maneuver?"]

[Text] Sensation follows sensation. The wave of discussion about the sale of 140 billion rubles to the West has only just risen, and here we have another astonishing statement made by A. Tarasov. According to a POSTFAKTUM report, he claimed at a news conference held by the Democratic Russia movement leadership that the USSR president had carried out a secret deal with the Japanese government. In the words of the cooperative member-cum-entrepreneur, it provides for the transfer of the four islands in the Kuril chain. In return Japan is said to have promised to invest at least $200 billion into the Soviet economy.

The sequence of events is startling—two sensations standing side by side. In the first case there are actual documents bearing the signature of the deputy chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers, but in the second? The words are absolutely without foundation.

A report by the USSR president's press service notes that M.S. Gorbachev intends to ask the appropriate judicial authorities to examine the false charges laid against him if A. Tarasov does not make public apology for spreading deliberately slanderous insinuations.

Incidentally, in conversation with your TASS correspondent the claims of a secret deal were categorically denied by an official representative of the Japanese Foreign Ministry.

Unfortunately, no apology was forthcoming on the morning of 1 February. A. Tarasov merely stated that he was being harassed in every way.

The vehemence of the businessman's statements do have their own logic. Recently Tarasov has been very edgy. He was irritated by the USSR President's Decree "On Measures To Back Up the Fight Against Economic Sabotage and Other Crimes in the Sphere of the Economy." He even thinks that he is under around-the-clock observation.

All these statements amount to generalizations about a threat to democracy and about the development of the economy and international policy which, according to the POSTFAKTUM report, Tarasov expressed in a special note sent to I. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers. He suggests that a secret protocol on transferring the Kuril Islands to Japan during Gorbachev's visit to Japan this April has already been signed. It gets worse as it goes on. In Tarasov's opinion, the conditions put forward by the Japanese side will in one way or another include the suppression of the democratic movement, the introduction of stiff penalties for breach of labor discipline, and the elimination of Soviet market structures and joint ventures with other countries and their capital investments as a means of combatting potential competitors.

In the runup to this important visit such "sensational" statements are objectively aimed at undermining the process of normalizing Soviet-Japanese relations.

Near East & South Asia

Reports Note Syrian Prime Minister's Visit

Meets With Bessmertnykh

LD0502191791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1826 GMT 5 Feb 91

[Text] Moscow, 5 Feb (TASS)—USSR Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh met today with Mustafa Talas, deputy prime minister and defense minister of the Syrian Arab Republic.

During the conversation, which took place in a friendly atmosphere, there was discussion of questions connected with the state and prospects for development of Soviet-Syrian relations, and also the conflict in the Persian Gulf zone and the overall situation in the Middle East.

The ministers confirmed the desire of both countries for the further deepening of partnership and cooperation on the basis of the treaty of 1980. It was stressed that the steady development of Soviet-Syrian relations is in keeping with the interests of the peoples of the USSR and Syria and serve the cause of the establishment of justice and lasting security in the Middle East.

The parties were unanimous that a clear commitment by Iraq to leave Kuwait in full compliance with the resolutions of the UN Security Council would enable the combat operations to be halted and the bloodshed to be ended. A settlement of the Kuwait crisis on this basis would open up opportunities to embark on a resolution of the other Middle East problems, above all the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Holds Talks With Yazov

NC0402205491 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 1915 GMT 4 Feb 91

[Text] The official Syrian-Soviet talks opened this afternoon in Moscow. Attending for Syria were General Mustafa Talas, deputy commander in chief of the Army and the Armed Forces, deputy prime minister, and foreign minister; the accompanying delegation; and 'Isam al-Na'ib, Syrian ambassdor in Moscow. Attending for the Soviets were Defense Minister Marshal Dimitry Yazov; General Mikhail Moiseyev, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces; General (Vankov), deputy defense minister and commander of the Ground Forces; Air Force Commander General (Shabiknicov); General Tretyak, deputy commander in chief and commander of the Air Defense Forces; Army General (Shuralov), deputy defense minister; and General (Simirinov), chairman of the department no. 10.

The talks dealt with the situation in the Middle East in light of the war in the Gulf, as well as the status and progress of Syrian-Soviet military relations.

Gen. Talas arrived in Moscow this morning on a four-day offical visit to the Soviet Union in response to an invitation by the Soviet defense minister. He was met at Moscow airport by Soviet Defense Minister Marshal Dimitry Yazov; Marshal Moiseyev, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces; commanders of all the Soviet forces; 'Isam al-Na'ib, Syrian ambassador in Moscow; and the embassy staff.

Bessmertnykh Meets With Afghan Counterpart

LD0502231291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1833 GMT 5 Feb 91

[Text] Moscow, 5 February (TASS)—Today Aleksandr Bessmertnykh met 'Abdul Wakil, minister of foreign affairs for the Republic of Afghanistan, who is in Moscow.

The problems of a political settlement in Afghanistan, the situation in the Persian Gulf, and also several issue of Soviet-Afghan cooperation were discussed.

The ministers expressed their deep concern at the development of events relating to the war in the Persian Gulf zone, and they spoke in favor of the need to actively seek ways to stop the armed conflict, and the need for political methods to resolve the existing problems.

In discussing the Afghan issue the ministers noted the firm resolution of the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan to reach a political settlement in this country, on the basis of free democratic elections and the establishment of a representative and broadly-based government.

Wakil expressed deep gratitude for the constructive efforts of the Soviet Union aimed at halting the bloodshed and settling the Afghan conflict by peaceful means, as soon as possible.

The discussion took place in the traditionally friendly and frank atmosphere which is characteristic of Soviet-Afghan meetings.

Belonogov's 'Highly Important' Tehran Trip Eyed

LD0502143191 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 5 Feb 91

[Aleksandr Pogodin commentary]

[Text] A Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belonogov has left for Tehran on a highly important political mission. His aim is to hold talks within the framework of consultations with a number of countries in view of the conflict in the Persian Gulf. Here is an analysis from our commentator, Aleksandr Pogodin and this is what he writes.

This is another diplomatic action aimed localizing the conflict in the Gulf and restricting and stopping it. The Soviet Union proceeds from the assumption that the United Nations Security Council resolution on the permissibility of using armed force to reverse the consequences of the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait does not

allow at all for eliminating Iraq as a country. This document does not provide for causing damage to the Iraqi people, who have actually become the victims of an unreasonable behavior of their own leadership.

In a bid to restrict the intensity of the conflict the Soviet Union is making use of all available opportunities for contacts both with the direct participants in the hostilities and with other countries, first of all those which are situated in the region. Mr. Belonogov's trip to Tehran has caused special interest in the media over the fact that the trip coincides with the new initiative advanced by the Iranian President, Rafsanjani, for a peaceful settlement in the Gulf. The Iranian President has expressed readiness to meet with the Iraqi President, Saddam Husayn, to discuss—as he put it—an idea on the basis of which a peace plan can be worked out. No details of the idea are reported, however, as most observers believe, it contains for one an offer by Iran of its mediation services to stop the conflict and have the Iraqi troops pull out from Kuwait.

Tehran's offer has caused quite a mixed reaction. The United Nations Secretary-General, Perez de Cuellar, has supported the idea and hopes it could be realized. Official Washington reaction was restrained and the idea was dismissed. It is notable that an Associated Press news agency comment on the score said that since the war began the United States and its main allies had opposed any new peaceful initiatives. As for Moscow, a Foreign Ministry spokesman here said it regards the Iranian offer as quite positive. One can assume that during the talks in Tehran between Iranian leaders and the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, Aleksandr Belonogov, this topic would get close attention. Apparently it is difficult to count that one idea can decisively change the developments. Nevertheless every single chance for a possible political settlement must be seized.

Iraqi Scores U.S. Gulf Role, Soviet Coverage

LD0502135991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 5 Feb 91

[Interview with Ghalil Jassim Husayn, Iraq's ambassador to Moscow, by unattributed NOVOSTI correspondent; from the "Television News Service" program—Husayn's comments are in Arabic with superimposed translation into Russian]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] One of the questions dealt with the origins of the [Gulf] conflict.

[Begin recording] [Husayn] There is too great a plot aimed against Iraq, the implementation of which started immediately after the end of the Iran-Iraq war, since Iraq then had a great military and economic might, because Iraq had a leadership with a patriotic will. This became a real threat to the Zionist formation, which for many years has been violating the rights of the Palestinian people and is occupying our Arab territories. For that reason, world Zionism incited the (?force of evil), first and foremost the United States, to destroy Iraqi potential and get rid of it.

[Correspondent] (?What do you think of the coverage) of the Persian Gulf by the Soviet mass media?

[Husayn] I am very sorry to say that some Soviet mass media have taken an unobjective position in covering the events taking place in our region and has not said (?a word) about the barbaric aggression and the killing of children, women, and old people. We consider this to be incompatible with the process of glasnost now taking place in Soviet society. [end recording]

Palestine Embassy Denies Split in Iraq Relations

LD0502203391 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 5 Feb 91

["Text" of statement by the State of Palestine Embassy to the USSR—read by announcer]

[Text] The USSR Television Service, drawing on information obtained from Egyptian sources, has received a report that the leadership of Iraq has purportedly sent a letter containing sharp criticism to Yasir 'Arafat, president of the State of Palestine, in connection with his position regarding the war in the Gulf. In this connection, the embassy is authorized to state that the given report is totally at variance with reality. Palestinian-Iraqi relations are absolutely normal. We consider it our duty to confirm yet again that the Palestinian people and the PLO firmly and consistently opposes the U.S. aggression against the Iraqi people. The Palestinian leadership headed by President Yasir 'Arafat, is not displaying any hesitation in the active efforts to get that aggression stopped and to return to the quest for a political decision of all the problems confronting the region.

Comments, Reactions to War in Gulf Reported

Hostilities Proving 'Protracted'

PM0502115391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Feb 91 Union Edition p 4

["Military Observer's Notes" by Lieutenant General V. Pereverzev: "The Battles Take on a Protracted Character"]

[Text] The second week of the war in the Persian Gulf region has ended. How can its results and possible future development be assessed?

Overall, taking account of the quality of arms and ammunition, superiority in strength and means undoubtedly belongs to the United States and its allies. A blockade has been set up around Iraq. This country can rely only on those resources it has today, and these are steadily diminishing.

Military actions concentrated primarily on mass aerial missile and bomb strikes to inflict unacceptable damage

on Iraq, drive it into an impasse, and force the liberation of Kuwait. This was the aim of the air offensive operation effected by all aviation and naval forces.

As a result of two weeks of relentless missile and bomb strikes, the United States and its allies have gained superiority in the air, paralyzed nuclear and chemical centers, as well as a significant number of Iraqi airfields, neutralized part of Iraq's antiaircraft defense capability, and partially disrupted the state and military administrative system.

Since day two of the operations currently under way, the multinational air forces have met with increasingly stubborn resistance on the part of the Iraqis. This took the American command by surprise. In the course of intensive enemy missile and bomb strikes, Iraq managed to ensure a certain survivability for the air defense system, especially at military-unit level, minimize losses in the air, and preserve the grouping of ground forces for the decisive ground offensive. The anti-Iraq coalition leadership's initial confidence in achieving a speedy victory has been replaced by a more sober evaluation of the opponent and his potential.

It is clear that the allies and especially the United States underestimated Iraq's capability. Iraq had prepared itself to repulse possible attacks firmly and thoroughly, drawing from eight years of experience in the military campaign with Iran. It effectively dispersed and defended important targets of military and economic potential, which, judging from the results, American intelligence had not been able to fully detect. Operative camouflage, including the extensive use of various mockups and fake airfields and launching (firing) positions, was well thought out and effectively implemented. By creating dummy radio networks, Iraq managed to ensure troop survivability during heavy raids by enemy air forces. Field fortification in the theater of military activities involving the construction of a broad network of obstacles, oil-filled ditches, and various artificial barriers and obstacles on possible troop routes, was purposefully carried out. High security administrative points were established. Localities were mined extensively. Trenches were dug for the tanks and other hardware of the battle-order formations and units deployed principally as part of the southern grouping of Iraqi troops.

Faced with the probability of a lengthy war, the American command was forced to select possible scenarios for subsequent actions: to carry out further aerial strikes or to bring the ground forces and the marines into combat action under the powerful support of the aviation forces. As the development of events shows, the United States and its allies have chosen the first option. This means that military actions are taking on a protracted character. From the point of view of reducing losses, this option is more suitable. It will ensure fewer ground force and marine losses. But the more time that passes, the more complex the situation becomes not only in the region of military operations but also in the adjacent areas.

U.S. Said 'Bogged Down'

PM0502130791 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 2 Feb 91 First Edition p 5

["Viewpoint" by Colonel of the Reserve Ye. Shchekatikhin: "'Protracted Downpour'"]

[Text] I will at once stipulate that it is a thankless task to try and predict the outcome of a war, particularly when there is a lack of information about the troops' positions, their material and technical supplies, the availability of ammunition, and the state of morale, and under conditions of purposeful disinformation on both sides. In order to assess and understand the development of military operations in the Persian Gulf zone, however, it is necessary to recall the events preceding the Iraqi incursion into Kuwait.

The presence of a strong Iraq in the region irritated both the United States and Israel. The struggle against Saddam Husayn had been waged for a long time, as evidenced both by a chain of plots against the president of Iraq for the purpose of changing the state system in that republic and by the shameless game which Kuwait and Saudi Arabia organized with oil market prices in order to undermine Iraq's economic position. Without going into Iraq's historical rights to the province of al-Kuwait, let us emphasize that S. Husayn, wishing to preserve Iraq's social structure and enjoying tremendous popularity and the people's trust and support, made a preemptive strike—he put his troops into Kuwait.

The peacemaking stance of G. Bush, who is supposedly concerned about Kuwait's independence, is, in point of fact, a political bluff. Oil and U.S. diktat in the region—this is what the U.S. President, who took the initiative in unleashing the war, is fighting for. No one prevented the United States and Israel, together with Arab countries, from sitting around the negotiating table and examining the region's problems comprehensively under UN Security Council auspices. Saddam Husayn even proposed such an option—all the aggressors, including himself, an aggressor perforce, to leave the occupied territories—but this option suited neither the United States nor Israel, for it was perfectly clear that the Arabs would demand the fulfillment of UN resolutions on Israel as well.

Therefore G. Bush chose war and unleashed it, and no propaganda means, however they might try to justify this step, are capable of proving the reverse—on 17 January 1991 it was the U.S. President who issued the order to begin the bloody carnage in the Persian Gulf region. Husayn did not want to be an instigator of war in the eyes of his descendants and is not one, whatever the press might say and write now.

As for the limited missile strikes against Israel, it would be strange if the chief party to blame for the complication in the region—Israel—were to sit this war out in

peace and quiet. Here, too, Husayn's perfectly considered political approach tells. The U.S. President's assessment of the strike against Israel as unprovoked aggression is once again wrong. Aggression—yes, since war had not been formally declared; but as for "unprovoked," spare us this: Iraq, blockaded on all sides and being subjected every day to raids by more than 1,000 enemy aircraft, is hardly left with any way out other than to play the Israel card and try to stop the allies.

The allied command's claim that the war is proceeding strictly to plan reminds you of the Hitlerite Wehrmacht's triumphant communiques at the start of the Great Patriotic War. Then, too, they boasted that they had destroyed all aircraft on the ground and knocked out the control systems and airfields and that Soviet troops were fleeing in panic. Such reports were probably even closer to the truth in 1941 than now.

Yes, a certain tactical surprise was achieved, but certainly not operational or, still less, strategic surprise. Iraq had had time enough to prepare for attack. The allies had promised to get even with Iraq and liberate Kuwait in three days. The prediction was not realized. A week later they started saying that victory would take another two or three weeks. Now Western specialists are already arguing: Some say it will take six months to end the war, others say a year or more.

In terms of area Iraq is 5.5 times bigger than the DPRK and four times bigger than Vietnam (Democratic Republic of Vietnam) with approximately the same population. The results of war in those countries are well known. As can be seen, an analogous situation awaits the United States here, too. The Iraqis will fight no less fiercely for their independence.

Yes, there is no victory without reserves. But Husayn is a sufficiently experienced military man not to get involved in a war without ensuring his reserves. He gets them from his own country, not from across the ocean. I will not venture to evaluate the allies' potential for replenishing ammunition and weapons. Any U.S.-Kuwait airlift will hardly be able to ensure the timely replenishment of ammunition. Not to mention a comparison of the potential regarding human resources, for Iraq plainly has the advantage here.

The success of the allied troops' air strikes against Iraqi military targets is doubtful. If the reports are to be believed, during the first two days the task was fulfilled almost 100 percent. Aircraft, airfields, air defense facilities, missile launchers, and control systems were counted as having been put out of commission. On the third day they started talking of the need for repeat strikes, on the fifth they spoke of elusive missile launchers, on the sixth they admitted that Iraqi aircraft were intact as they had been dispersed and were in shelters, on the seventh the number of Iraqi missiles shot down by Patriot systems was reduced threefold, and on the eighth they said through their teeth that they had dropped their bombs on missiles and false targets.

In addition, it must not be forgotten that control of the Iraqi Army is based not only on a system of main command centers and primary communications centers. I believe that Husayn has long known, as a military specialist, that any modern army has developed radio communications in various frequency bands and forms of communication together with a system of reserve command centers and communications centers, and is capable of maneuvering frequencies under electronic warfare conditions. The coalition army undoubtedly has great potential for waging electronic war which surpasses the potential of the Soviet military hardware in the Iraqis' arsenal. The flat terrain with an absence of radio shadows is an ideal bridgehead for the use of electronic warfare gear. But modern weapons have been "taught" to fire on jammers, and Iraq will hardly fail to take advantage of methods of firing on jamming aircraft.

A war cannot be ended (barring a simultaneous abandonment of further waging of combat operations) until a soldier's foot steps onto enemy territory, its army has been routed or has surrendered, and the population's potential for waging a partisan war has been crushed. The correlation of forces in the groupings is practically equal, which means that the war could go on for a long time, under different, more difficult conditions for the coalition. As a result, the allies, and the Americans above all, could encounter a new "Vietnam syndrome." What are the U.S. soldiers fighting for here, after all? For the interests of oil monopolies and for money. Their lofty patriotism will wane far faster than in Vietnam—the experience of generations will tell. Where are they fighting? Thousands of kilometers from home, far from their home states. The Iraqis are fighting on home ground for their independence, for their homes, for their families. Their faith in Husayn far surpasses the Americans' confidence in their President. They have combat experience derived from the eight-year war against Iran and experience of war under the climatic conditions in which they live, managing in trenches without air conditioners or refrigerators. Their fighting spirit has been roused by Israel's outrages in the region over many years.

The "Desert Storm" is already turning into a monotonous "protracted downpour." It is increasingly obvious that the United States is getting bogged down in the conflict, and this will lead to a drop in the war's popularity in the participant countries' public consciousness and in the popularity of the governments which have gotten involved in a manifest adventure, will bring about growing Arab resistance, and will force Israel to abandon its great-power ambitions in the region in exchange for preserving its existence.

Of course, I might be mistaken, but I believe one thing is clear—the carnage unleashed by Bush must be stopped. In the present situation the only way to stop the bloodshed is to order the troops to suspend firing and to sit at the negotiating table on condition that all the problems of the region are examined.

Coalition Disinformation Scored

91UM0329C Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 1 Feb 91 p 3

[Commentary by Captain 1st Rank Anatoliy Slobozhanyuk under the "Today in the World" rubric: "Opinion of a Military Observer: Whom Will 'Desert Storm' Sweep Away?"]

[Text] The assumption that the Americans were "smashing plywood" was expressed by the military specialists with whom I spoke on 17 January, in the wake of the triumphant situation reports on the first air raids by the multinational force. It is now clear that the specialists were imprecise: the Iraqi Army is employing not plywood mockups of aircraft, tanks, and launchers but more modern ones made of fiberglass and, possibly, inflatable rubber, with which it has duped the pilots, who have dropped thousands of tons of explosives on the decoys.

Other details of the "Persian battle" are now becoming clearer also, although there is not nor could there be reliable and sufficiently full information on the results of the combat operations in the press and on the air. The appalling statistics of any war are revealed only when it is over, but even then far from immediately. So far, however, we are seeing an improbable spread of assessments like, for instance, the 10-fold difference in the estimates of aircraft lost by the multinational force, and 100-fold (!) in the definition of the number of casualties among the Iraqi population.

A perfectly explicable stream of disinformation is forthcoming. The military censor is sterilizing facts and figures with unprecedented thoroughness. With a total monopoly on information, the multinational force is giving out merely the information on the enemy which adds black tints to the portrait of Saddam Husayn and his army, purposively molding public opinion. As far, however, as the state of the allied forces is concerned, one has the impression at times that the American generals and other propagandists of this war are themselves even confused about their own news releases.

On the fifth day of the war Gen N. Schwarzkopf, commander of the multinational force, "released" on the air in an unscheduled program, told the American television audience with theatrical delight that he himself was surprised at how successfully the plan of operations drawn up by the Pentagon was being implemented. The taxpayers and also the relatives of the soldiers and officers could rest assured that both dollars and the blood of the men and their lives had been thrown onto the bonfire of a just cause. The victory of the multinational force was not in doubt.

However odd, not only the man in the street but also some of our military officers are falling for the propaganda trick. Lt Gen V. Gorbachev said in an interview with the newspaper IZVESTIYA (No. 18): "All military airfields and missile bases of Iraq's Armed Forces have been practically completely destroyed." If this is the case, how did the Iraqi Mirages and MiG's which were shot down by the allies come to be in the skies and where did the air defense missiles which barred the path of American aircraft rushing by at speeds of more than 2,000 km per hour come from. It transpires from the same filtered news releases, incidentally, that the multinational force has very poor aircraft: one-third of the total number of losses perished on account of technical malfunctions.

The reader himself will also discover many various kinds of absurdities when comparing information concerning combat operations. Of course, if victory is achieved, the generals will be excused their present omissions and outright disinformation. But what if the multinational force does not win?

To be honest, I have not yet come across such an assumption. Neither before the start of the war nor now. I recall that on the very eve of "Desert Storm" Aleksandr Bovin, the leader of International Panorama, "allotted" Saddam Husayn a few days of resistance, at best, two weeks. Similar forecasts were made by other observers also. Some of them were relying more on the currently fashionable horoscopes, perhaps, than a sober analysis of the actual situation for, after all, even U.S. Defense Secretary R. Cheney was very guarded in his estimates. He is just as guarded now also.

A noteworthy report filtered into the press not long prior to the opening of fire: Together with weapons and combat equipment a special cargo had been delivered to Saudi Arabia—55,000 field coffins. The prudent Americans had supplied their Army with them on a 10-percent basis, that is, the U.S. Army Command estimates possible losses at 50,000 men. True, the Congressional Budget Office believes that if the war last six months, America will lose 45,000 killed and wounded. So the coffins could be shared with the allies.

It has become known also how the multinational force forecasts enemy losses. The mission of the allied command is to secure losses in the proportion of "one allied soldier to 1,000 Iraqis." If we multiply this 1,000 by the number of coffins which have been prepared, we find ourselves beyond the brink of absurdity: The allies are intending to kill each Iraqi—from the babe in arms through the decrepit old man—at least three times.

Does not the normal person's heart shudder from these sepulchral statistics, from this caveman logic! We recall that the bloody battle is taking place on the land of Mesopotamia. Here, in the interfluve between the Tigris and the Euphrates, was the birthplace, thousands of years before our era, of civilization. Now, at the end of the 20th century, at the end of two millennia, representatives of the latest civilization are hurling bombs and missiles into the cradle of the most ancient civilization. Some of my compatriots are observing this carnage with some kind of rejoicing even. "Baghdad is lit up like a

Christmas tree...," KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA carried prominently, in a subhead, the fanatical exclamation of an American pilot bombing the capital of Iraq. Beneath this "tree," meanwhile, not figuratively but in the direct and dreadful sense, the children of Baghdad were lit up.

A boyish delight in connection with the "surgically" precise attacks has run through many of our papers, it would seem. It has been said even that the bombs and missiles fall with an accuracy of up to 30 cm. The information of eyewitnesses who measured these centimeters may only be obtained from the other world. Only in hopeless raving can a bomb be compared with a scalpel.

Despite all the contradictoriness of the information coming from the area of combat operations, it may be concluded that the mission of the allied forces in the first stage of the war has been accomplished only partially. It seems that many people have forgotten that the UN Security Council gave the "go-ahead" for the use of Armed Forces for the sake of liberating Kuwait. So far, however, it is another state, most valuable property of world culture and religious shrines which are being erased from the face of the earth. In a professional and planned fashion the "air butchers" are wiping out a distinctive people, who have become hostage to a dictator and who together with this dictator have been condemned to death. The slogan about a just war has proven a propaganda forgery not only of the Pentagon and the White House but of the United Nations also. It is hard to believe that the permanent members of the Security Council, which voted for military operations and thereby "cocked the trigger," were hoping that Bush would not pull the trigger and that at the last moment Saddam Husayn would have second thoughts. The mirages of the Arabian desert have become embodied in the cruelest reality of death, and the United Nations—this head peace-making organization of the planet—having given the mandate for war, could itself become a mirage.

I said earlier that the generals would be excused their omissions and outright disinformation if the multinational force achieved victory over Iraq. But there can be no winners in this war, in my view. It will bring only defeats, whatever the final result of the combat operations. The first to suffer defeat has been the United Nations.

The scale of the environmental disaster in connection with the fires at the oil storage reservoirs and the heavy discharges of crude into the waters of the Persian Gulf is not yet clear but it is perfectly obvious that serious damage has been done to all mankind also. New dangers are becoming increasingly graphic, too. The multinational force has threatened to use tear gas, which has been followed by an enemy threat to use chemical weapons. Marshal Husayn has as yet given no reason to doubt the reality of the ominous promises. Finally, to judge by everything, Iraq has succeeded also in igniting Israel's "safety fuse"—the consequences of Tel Aviv's entry into the war may be forecast with a very small degree of probability. It is clear merely that there would be a sharp increase in the possibility of the use of all kinds of weapons of mass destruction. This would mean that mankind would be brought right to the brink beyond which lies self-annihilation.

...Passing by people staging a mass meeting for some reason or other, I recently heard the hoarse loud-speaker words: "The Soviet Union and the Russian Federation have occupied an ostrich position in relation to the Near East conflict." It could have been ignored—what rubbish is not heard at mass meetings in our day—but these words lay as an unexpected reflection on a recent interview given by A. Kozyrev, foreign minister of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. He said, among other things: "We condemned the aggressor, like the majority of countries. But, then? Many states not participating militarily in the operations of the coalition have taken the next logical step—they have sent to the area of combat operations their medical personnel (like, for example, South Korea, Hungary, Czechoslovakia) or are, like Japan, rendering financial and transport assistance. That is, they have emphasized that with them word and deed are not at variance." What we should do, the minister does not say, only casually setting forth examples. But the hint is very transparent: With us word is at variance with deed. We have sent to the war neither our medical personnel nor our dollars nor transport facilities. True, I have not actually heard anyone officially promise this or that there have been any words concerning specific support for the war. There has been sufficient wisdom for that, thank God. But to appease the zealous supporters of active Soviet operations it should be said that our country also has assisted the allies—Miss USSR has visited the Persian Gulf zone. I am somewhat embarrassed by the moral aspect of this trip, but since this abracadabra—"Miss USSR"—has been devised for the name of the top beauty of the Soviet Union, she is required to entertain also primarily Mr's, particularly those who have been preparing for battle in the trenches or on carriers.

But to be serious, I am convinced that our country's position in respect of the war should amount to a decisive demand for its immediate termination. Look at the map, dear reader: The borders of Iraq and the USSR are separated by approximately 250 km, and the lethal cauldron of war is bubbling right alongside us. Despite all our present disconnection, we are obliged to be united in clear and strict rejection of the war. We are obliged before our children and grandchildren, before the future of our tiny planet.

Coverage Seen as Contradictory

LD0402163391 Tehran IRNA in English 1553 GMT 4 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow, Feb. 4, IRNA—Colonel V. Smirnov of the Soviet Army has said in the current issue of the

Moscow weekly SOYUZ that Iraq's facilities for manufacturing biological and chemical weapons as well as its atomic and oil installations have been destroyed in the course of aerial attacks by the allied forces.

He said the initial attacks on targets in Iraq by the U.S. and West European air forces were very heavy, although later comments by the American military sources cast doubt on the actual success of those blows to Iraq.

The Soviet official has said that Saddam Husayn is holding back his air force as a back-up support for ground operations, and commented that if the war should drag on until March then the Americans will be in a disadvantageous position since the U.S. military hardware in the Arabian peninsula has not been manufactured to cope with the typical sandstorms in the Arabian desert.

In a related report, the Soviet daily PRAVDA said Monday that last week's "slow defeat" of Iraqi troops in ground battles with the American-led forces in the Saudi border town of al-Khafji was a victory for Saddam Husayn".

The daily said that Saddam Husayn is slowly gaining credit even with people who do not approve of his policies.

Soviet Reporters Describe Life in Baghdad

LD0502201891 Tehran IRNA in English 1915 GMT 5 Feb 91

[Text] Tehran, Feb. 5, IRNA—Despite the reports carried by the British news agency 'REUTER' and other sections of the Western media "no foreign reporter was forced by the Baghdad government to leave Iraq," a group of six independent Soviet reporters have said.

The reporters speaking to the Persian daily KAYHAN in the Caspian town of Astara which straddles the Iran-Soviet frontier, said two of them stayed in Iraq for 35 days and four others remained there for two to three weeks without the least trouble.

"However, we were closely watched round-the-clock by Iraqi security agents for preparing video documentries," the Soviet journalists said. Of course, we managed to take films without the (Iraqi) agents watching on certain occasions."

One of the reporters said Iraq has taken extra care to arrange all the emergency facilities including shelters for the reporters, to the extent that bread, food and other necessary items are supplied to the reporters despite the apparent shortage of foodstuff.

He said drinking water is distributed among the people in plastic bags since piped water might be contaminated because of the savage bombardment of the U.S.-led forces.

Shortage of petrol is widely felt and long queues of about two to three kms are a routine spectacle at petrol stations still operating, said the Soviet reporter.

Because of the wartime conditions things deemed luxurious have been dispensed with, he said citing the limited television programmes because of the power cut. However, television can be received when power exists.

On the daily life in Baghdad, the reporters said people move about their routine work with most of the shops open in spite of the massive bombardment.

"I dare say that public life has been the least disturbed, and despite suffering great losses and casualties people hope are high with hopes of victory over the U.S. and its allies," they confirmed.

One of the Soviet reporters said that he witnessed rushing of some 200 wounded people to a hospital in Baghdad after a bombardment and "although 40 of the victims dies within minutes, surprisingly no sign of terror or fear was visible on the faces of the people."

As for damages and casualties, he said there were no proper estimates "since it is really horrible."

Another reporter disclosed that Iraqi people are "very happy" with the good relations between their country and the Islamic Republic, and are grateful for the medical and foodstuff aid sent by the Iranian people.

"The sympathy shown by their brothers [in] faith from Iran has doubled their happiness," he added.

Iraq's Attack on Khafji Has Psychological Aims

91UM0329A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Feb 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by Maj R. Mustafin: "Saddam Husayn's Surprise Move"]

[Text] Judging by the reports from the area of combat operations, the war is gradually coming down from the skies to sinful earth. Yesterday Iraqi troops, crossing the Kuwaiti-Saudi border, attacked the multinational force in several areas and captured the Saudi locality of Ras-Khafji. According to reports from Baghdad, Iraqi forces penetrated deep into Saudi territory several times, forging 20 km forward and returning to their initial positions after having taken prisoners and having destroyed military equipment of the enemy. According to Israeli sources, considerable losses in the course of the fighting were sustained both by Iraqi forces and the American, Egyptian, and Syrian forces repulsing this offensive. The Pentagon, however, views the Iraqis' operations as battlefield reconnaissance. Not that successful, what is more.

According to a statement by the American side, the Iraqis launched four attacks by forces of up to battalion strength in each case. The attacks were beaten back, and Iraqi troops were forced to withdraw across the border

with Saudi Arabia. The losses of the international force were not, it is stated, more than 20 men.

However contradictory the reports, it may be concluded even now that the Iraqi command did not fortuitously resolve upon such a surprise and, to be blunt, desperate sally. It was a question primarily, I believe, of an attempt to raise morale among the Iraqi servicemen, who for more than two weeks have been unable, it is said, to raise their heads above ground level because of the nonstop bombing and missile attacks by the multinational force. It was necessary at all costs to inspire its soldiers and officers with success, even if modest, on the battlefield.

This action was needed also, undoubtedly, to show the world, primarily the Arabs, that Iraq was holding out, and not simply holding out but capable of active military operations.

Of course, the Iraqi attack was most likely hoping for a psychological effect. Hardly anyone imagines that S. Husayn will seize the strategic initiative from the multinational force. Nonetheless, merely the fact that the Iraqis have responded testifies to a greater tenacity of Iraq's Armed Forces than anticipated by American strategists before the start of the war, evidently. It was also evidence that the coming ground fighting will be brutal and bloody.

Possible Scenarios for Gulf Ground War Viewed

91UM0329B Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Jan 91 First Edition p 5

[Article by Maj R. Balusov under the "Military Roundup" rubric: "The Engagement on the Ground Will Be Decisive"]

[Text] In the second week of the war in the Persian Gulf the multinational force, whose foundation is composed of American forces, retained the strategic initiative, which it had wrested in the first days or even hours of combat operations. Availing itself of operational-tactical surprise, it deafened and blinded the enemy with powerful missile and bombing attacks. This allowed the allied command to impose on the Iraqis its plans and scenarios for the conduct of military operations.

The extensive use of electronic warfare and precision weapons created on the basis of the latest achievements of science and technology—laser, electronic, and so forth—has been characteristic of the present stage of the air war. The second week of fighting was marked by a considerable stepping up of the operations by allied air forces. The number of combat missions reached 3,000 a day, and there have been more than 25,000 of them altogether since the start of the war. Tomahawk sea-fired cruise missiles, SLAM sea- and air-launched cruise missiles and the highly accurate Patriot air defense batteries, with a kill accuracy of 0.9 meters, were used under combat conditions for the first time. American submarines went into action for the first time also.

Infantry and armored units of the multinational force have been engaged in recent days, on a very limited scale, it is true. Military experts view their operations more as battlefield reconnaissance for the purpose of preliminarily feeling out and evaluating the condition of Iraq's defenses in particular sectors. In the course of one particular operation a small island in the Persian Gulf belonging to Kuwait, which was occupied by the Iraqis last August, was retaken.

Despite the unchallenged domination of the forces of the anti-Iraq coalition in the air and the significant losses of Iraqi troops, on the whole they have managed, to judge by press agency reports, to preserve the bulk of their aircraft and the grouping of ground forces.

Experts explain the preservation of the bulk of Iraq's aircraft, under the conditions of the massive air assaults, by the Iraqis' extensive use of a large number of secure ferroconcrete and underground aircraft shelters which were built with the aid of a number of Western companies and which are not only not inferior but also frequently superior, even in terms of their protective properties, to analogous structures in NATO countries.

The command of the multinational force has been caused particular alarm and concern by Iraq's use of "environmental weapons" for the first time in the history of warfare. The Iraqis set fire to just a few of the 1,080 oil wells in Kuwait to create a kind of smokescreen affecting the accuracy of the attacks. In addition, they poured a considerable quantity of oil into the waters of the Persian Gulf. The oil slick has already reached the shores of Saudi Arabia and represents a significant threat to the environment. It cannot be ruled out that Iraq's use of environmental weapons could influence the American command's decision-making concerning the commencement of a ground operation. On the other hand, Baghdad's actions may be seen as a warning that S. Husayn will stop at nothing if he feels that he is sinking into a hopeless situation.

However successfully the combat operations in the air have developed for the Americans and their allies, the success of the war and the liberation of Kuwait may be achieved only as a result of a successful strategic offensive ground operation. Practically all military officers and politicians are of this opinion.

The American command is now faced with a difficult dilemma: Either to continue the air operation for a particular period of time in order to inflict the maximum possible damage on the Iraqi grouping, weaken its power to resist and, consequently, reduce personnel losses to a minimum, but prolong the whole war in a time respect here; or switch to a decisive ground offensive, but sustain significant human losses here, which would have severe political consequences for the U.S. Administration. In all probability, we are on the threshold of decisive new events in the Persian Gulf and approaching the start of a new stage in the present war.

How might combat operations on land develop? A ground offensive operation would probably be of a combined nature and would develop in accordance with all the rules of modern battle. Extensive use would be made in this operation of the maneuvering of forces and resources, deep flanking movements, and close envelopment, vertical (airborne assault landings) included, and one or several frontal attacks, diversionary included.

Marines would mount an assault landing operation simultaneously with the operations of motorized infantry and armored formations. The American command would endeavor to flank, encircle, and, as far as possible, breach and cut through the Iraqis' defenses. The ground fighting would be supported by the operations of strategic and tactical army and carrier aviation, which would train fire on Iraqi positions.

Of course, an offensive ground operation does not promise to be a cakewalk for the multinational force. It would have to overcome the system of defenses, well prepared over five and a half months, of the Iraqi forces which have taken up positions behind earthwork fortifications, mine fields, wire entanglements, total destruction zones before the forward edge, killing zones, traps filled with oil, which could burst into flame, and antitank ditches.

From the military viewpoint, another version of the operation might also be possible for the United States and its allies—launching a boundary assault or, flanking the Iraqi troops in defensive positions, and advancing, crossing the desert, on Baghdad, endeavoring to strike at the very heart of the enemy. True, from political considerations this option would be, nonetheless, unacceptable inasmuch as it would cause considerable strain within the anti-Iraq coalition.

But these are all merely forecasts as yet. The actual development of the situation could opt for an entirely unexpected version, which would determine the course of the war.

Defense Ministry Not To Enlist Gulf Volunteers

PM0602093491 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Feb 91 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report under the "From Authoritative Sources" rubric: "We Do Not Enlist Volunteers"]

[Text] KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's editorial team has received numerous requests from Soviet citizens for assistance in enlisting as volunteers in the Armed Forces of both Iraq and the anti-Iraq coalition countries. In respect of these appeals, we announce that our newspaper cannot help on this matter. In addition, we hereby convey answers we received from other authorities.

"The USSR Defense Ministry does not concern itself with sending individuals or groups of volunteers to join the Iraqi Armed Forces or the Armies of the countries of the anti-Iraq coalition, or indeed the Armed Forces of any country."

Answer supplied by the USSR Defense Ministry Press Center.

"In practice, the issue has not arisen at the USSR Foreign Ministry. We proceed from the assumption that the USSR is not participating in the armed conflict in the Persian Gulf."

Answer supplied by the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Administration.

Scientists Offer Help With Gulf Oil Slick

PM0602135191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Feb 91 Union Edition p 1

[From the IZVESTIYA, TASS, UPI, SIBINFORM, INTERFAX column: "Scientists Ready to Help"]

[Text] Tyumen scientists are ready to solve the problem of liquidating the oil slick in the Persian Gulf.

"It was seven years ago that we developed an ecologically pure biological agent against oil pollution," I. Nesterov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, said. "Thanks to it, oil spillages in the waters of the Caspian Sea and Lake Onega have been cleaned up."

Unfortunately, the agent is produced in small quantities. The liquidation of the oil slick in the Persian Gulf will require the production of 100 tonnes of the powder over a period of two-three months. The scientists are ready to submit scientific estimates and help production workers get down to work at once, TASS correspondent M. Prutkin reported.

West Europe

Various West European Reactions to Gulf Reported

Terrorism Fears Cited

91UF0405A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Jan 91 First Edition p 5

[Article by V. Katin, NOVOSTI correspondent for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA: "The Palestinians Raise Their Head"]

[Text] Luxembourg—Western Europe is paying a great deal of attention to the course of the military activities in Iraq and Kuwait. School children, housewives, employees, businessmen, and, of course, political figures of all stripes and calibers are talking mainly about this and spending all of their free time in front of the television set. Attitudes toward the events in the Persian Gulf vary. In France, Belgium, and Great Britain, for example, two-thirds of those questioned approve of the intention of the United States and their governments to free Kuwait and put the Iraqi dictator in his place. But,

according to the estimates of sociologists, shaky public opinion will shift rapidly if the conflict is drawn out. Moreover, the Palestinian movement is becoming appreciably stronger. Leftist forces, mainly communist parties, "Greens," and trade unions, think that the bloodshed could have been avoided and that the war should be stopped immediately. A well-known French writer Giles Perrot even called for the soldiers to desert and sabotage the delivery of arms.

There are fears that a "second front" could open up in Europe itself. There is talk of the threat of sorties of the supporters of the Iraqi regime—fanatics or conspiring saboteurs living in Western European countries. The first symptoms are already in evidence: Three French institutions were blown up in Athens, and there have been explosions in Paris, London, Turin, and Marseilles.

For security purposes the authorities are taking extraordinary precautionary measures. Thus the state institutions, airports, and train stations have heavier guards of special gendarme units. Practically all the countries of the European communities have expelled the Iraqi diplomats along with hundreds of citizens of Arab nationalities. The British have even declared a group of Iraqi student-recruits to be prisoners of war. They have introduced bans on the sale of hunting arms and knives, they have removed urns and flower vases from public places, they have removed the mail boxes from the central regions of the capitals, and they have stopped sending and receiving packages from the Arab countries and Israel. In a word, Europe is living in a state of alarm.

The business world feels much calmer and more confident. Thus there has been a sharp leap in the price of shares in companies that produce weapons and military equipment, electronics, and everything related to the war and defense. For every day of this war is costing the United States and its allies $1 billion, and someone is earning very good money from this. Here is evidence from the organ of Belgian business circles, ECHO: "The war against Iraq is the daily bread of the military industry, which had seriously suffered because of the warming of relations between East and West."

Paradoxical as it may be, there has been no sharp jump in the price of oil yet. This is explained by the confidence of the oil companies in the imminent victory of the coalition forces and the significant fuel reserves they stored up ahead of time.

German Neo-Nazi Views Analyzed

91UF0405B Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Jan Union Edition p 5

[Article by A. Balandin: "'Heil... Husayn!'"]

[Text] Bonn—"Long live the great Germany!" "Long live our movement!" "Long live the battle for Saddam Husayn!" Calls like these were heard at a meeting of neo-Nazis on the outskirts of Frankfurt-am-Main.

Calls for "restoration of the Reich" and continuation of the "work of the Fuehrer" are nothing new in the mouths of the neo-Nazis. They began to be heard as soon as the war was over. But this is the first time we have heard support for the Iraqi leader.

These are not empty words. According to the statement of one of the leaders of the right-wing radicals, Michael Kuenen, even now about 500 "volunteers" are prepared to go to Iraq and enter on the side of S. Husayn. But who are they, these "adventure seekers," and who is their leader?

Michael Kuenen is a former military serviceman in the Bundeswehr. At the age of 22 he was thrown out of the military service for engaging in covert Nazi propaganda. The "Front for Actions of National Socialists" he created in Hamburg in 1977 declared itself to be an enemy of any democracy and a continuer of the "cause of the Fuehrer."

In 1983, another neofascist grouping called "national-activists" joined the "front." In December 1983, the organization's activity was banned by the FRG minister of internal affairs. Michael Kuenen personally was twice sentenced to jail terms.

Among those who had expressed a desire to serve on Husayn's side, in Kuenen's words, were former military servicemen of the National People's Army of the GDR, the Bundeswehr, and mercenaries with experience in combat abroad.

"Our goal is a close alliance between Arab and European nationalists," stated M. Kuenen.

Well, if you cannot become a fuehrer yourself you can at least serve another one.

FRG Antiwar Sentiment Seen

91UF0405C Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Jan 91 First Edition p 5

[Article by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Major S. Popov: "Bundeswehr Files Charges Against Demonstrators"]

[Text] A wave of antiwar demonstrations has swept through the FRG. Hundreds of thousands of people participated in the demonstrations held in Berlin, Bonn, Stuttgart, Magdeburg, and many other cities. Chancellor H. Kohl, speaking in Bonn at a meeting of the federal board of the Christian Democratic Union, expressed concern about the mass public dissatisfaction with the participation of NATO armed forces in the combat action in the Persian Gulf region.

But the demonstrations are not ceasing. The Bundeswehr even "caught it" as a result of one of them. A couple of days ago in Strassburg several hundred demonstrators stormed a military compound that housed one of the units included in the territorial Bundeswehr command "East." The picketing of the military installation ended

with the more resolute ones crawling over the fence and opening the gates to the compound from the inside. Then about 400 people burst onto its territory and wrote antiwar slogans all over the walls of the barracks. Lieutenant General J. Schoenbohm, speaking to journalists in this connection, said: "I have absolutely no idea how the units and subdivisions under my command feel about the war in the Persian Gulf." He also reported a decision to file charges against the participants in the action, stating that this had better never happen again in the history of the Bundeswehr.

'Incompatible' Views Noted

91UF0405D Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
30 Jan 91 Second Edition p 3

[Article by PRAVDA staff correspondent A. Lyutyy: "The Cruel Logic of War: The 'Second Front' in Europe"]

[Text] London—*As more and more bombs and warheads explode in the zone of combat activities in the Persian Gulf, a kind of "second front" is opening up in Western Europe. It is a front of mutual reproaches and accusations regarding which country is making what contribution to the joint battle against Saddam Husayn's Army.*

The most powerful salvos in these altercations are being launched on the banks of the Thames. People in London are dissatisfied with the position of certain allies in the ranks of the anti-Iraqi coalition and are accusing them of trying to sit out the war behind the American and British soldiers. The friction began even before the military campaign started. Paris was in trouble for the peace initiative undertaken just a couple of hours before bombing of Baghdad, catching London unawares. Now French fighters and ships have been put to work in operation Desert Storm, but the relatively small scale of Paris' participation continues to evoke appreciable grumbling here.

Belgium is criticized for refusing—at least that is the way it is put by the mass media—to deliver to the British Army some of the components it needs for its military equipment. But Germany has become the main target of the attacks. The country, which is envied for its economic might, is depicted not without malice, as a colossus that has turned out to have feet of clay at the critical moment for Europe and the rest of the world. Prime Minister John Major a couple of days ago expressed in legislature his barely concealed irritation with the inadequate, in his opinion, financial support Bonn has rendered to operation Desert Storm. The press has been actively quoting the statement of the Turkish leader Turgut Ozal who called Germany a "rich but unreliable ally." The fact is that Bonn sent to Ankara's aid 18 Alfa-Jet fighters that are not the most modern but refused to make firm promises to use them in the event that Turkey, which is a NATO member, were attacked by Iraq.

Observers here say that Germany is more interested in protecting the oil arteries of the Persian Gulf than England is and therefore it should contribute more to the joint military campaign against Husayn. But the anti-German rhetoric overshadows, as a rule, such considerable factors as the strict constitutional restrictions on this country's use of troops abroad, the strong antiwar sentiments, and the great expenditures Germany is making in connection with the process of unification of its eastern and western parts. It seems that London would like to show Bonn in the least advantageous light to Washington, which at one time was thinking about shifting the axis of "special" transatlantic relations from the Thames to the Rhine. It is as if they were telling the Americans: See, we warned you that we were the only ones you could count on at the critical moment.

Nonetheless, even taking into account the obvious tinge of subjectivism in the assessments of the West German position, one cannot but admit that it is extremely far from harmony, order, and coordination. The state minister in the British war department, Alan Clark, was possibly a bit tactless when he said that the European allies of the United States "had scattered to their basements." But it is a fact that they have not acted as a unified front. The foreign political interests of each of the countries of the European Community are too varied and sometimes incompatible, and they have too complex an attitude toward the goals set by the prime mover in operation Desert Storm—the United States.

Political & Social

Number of Cities Patrolled Increased

LD0502095491 Moscow TASS in English 0947 GMT 5 Feb 91

[Text] Moscow February 5 TASS—The number of soviet Cities in which streets are now being patrolled by police and troops has increased by one-third by February 5 and totals 86, a spokesman for the USSR Interior Ministry said today.

The number of joint Army-Police patrols has increased from 1740 to 2636, involving 12,000 troops. No automatic guns or armoured vehicles have been issued to patrolmen.

About 5,000 people have been detained by patrols for violating law and order.

Moscow Commandant on Joint Patrols

LD0102230491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2035 GMT 1 Feb 91

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] [Announcer] As of today, the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] and the Army joint patrol is to be enforced on the territory of the USSR at the order of Yazov and Pugo. It is understandable that this situation, new for all of us is liable to create questions. Lieutenant General N.N. Smirnov, the military commandant of Moscow, is prepared to answer at least some of them. He is now with us in the studio, as we have promised.

[Announcer] So, Nikolay Nikolayevich, what rights do your patrols possess? What are they allowed to do and what are they banned from doing?

[Smirnov] The military patrols have no additional rights as regards civilians. In other words, they have no right to detain civilians, to demand their identification documents or to search any of them.

[Announcer] Then what is all this for?

[Smirnov] The main task that the military patrols are facing is to render assistance to the militia staff in their duty to maintain public order and this assistance may well turn out to be substantial.

[Announcer] Do you think the Army involvement in patrolling will help resolve our problems?

[Smirnov] The participation of military patrols in maintaining order on city streets and public places will undoubtedly help resolve this task. But it seems these measures alone will not be enough to resolve the problem.

[Announcer] Do you belong to the category of generals who believe that the involvement of the Army in maintaining order in the streets of our towns is desirable?

[Smirnov] I believe that the participation of the Army in maintaining order in the streets of our cities is indeed desirable at this moment. This is evident from the rise in crime among civilians and also among the military.

[Announcer] What would you advise us? What should we, common citizens, do and what should we not do to avoid problems with your people.

[Smirnov] Above all there is no need to be afraid of a man who has a weapon. Only those who break the law should fear joint patrols.

[Announcer] Do you believe that order and lawfulness have the same meaning?

[Smirnov] Yes, lawfulness and order are the same thing.

Joint Militia-Army Patrols Appear in Moscow

LD0102153691 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] In accordance with the decree of the country's president, 63 joint patrols of militia and military personnel have appeared on the streets of Moscow. Their routes include all the capital's locations with criminal potential. The militiaman in charge of the group has, as usual, the standard issue weapon and a rubber baton. The two soldiers have bayonets and only the officer has a pistol. The same number of soldiers are involved in the patroling as were formally engaged in garrison patrols.

Further on Implementation of Decree

LD0102190991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1732 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] Moscow, 1 Feb (TASS)—The decree of the USSR president and the order of the USSR defense minister and internal affairs minister on the joint patrolling of major towns in the country by army and police units came into force in the USSR. These measures are directed toward supporting public order and stopping the rise in crime.

By this evening 63 joint patrols had already gone out on to Moscow streets. All the Soviet capital's crime zones are included in their beats. "No armoured personnel carriers will appear on the capital's streets in connection with this," siad Vladimir Vershkov, deputy head of the Moscow police public relations center. As usual, the policeman in command of the patrol carries a pistol and a rubber truncheon. The two soldiers accompanying him carry combat knife-style bayonets.

Joint patrolling has given rise to interest among Soviet and foreign correspondents. The leadership of the Moscow police has already received a considerable number of applications from them to accompany the patrols in their work. According to Vladimir Vershkov, all of them were satisfied.

In the Ukraine, joint patrols have come as a surprise to no one. For more than three years army detachments

have been serving jointly with the police in Kiev. Major General Nikolay Zabelyy, military commandant of the Ukrainian capital, has described this as "routine duty" and has asserted that "talk of armored personnel carriers bears no relation to the patrols."

However, the decree of the USSR president is not being implemented in all the republics of the Soviet Union. Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia have declared the introduction of such patrols on their territory to be unlawful and unnecessary. According to information from a duty officer at the Lithuanian Ministry for Internal Affairs, the number of patrols "so far, evidently, has not been increased." However, Marionas Misiukonis, the republic's minister of internal affairs, has stated that the command of the military garrison has informed him of forthcoming patrols and the establishment of the detachments. Vice Admiral Yuriy Belov, head of the Tallinn garrison, has reported the refusal of the local police to cooperate with the military in the implementation of the decree.

The Georgian and Armenian parliaments have suspended the operation of the decree on the territories of these republics. The parliament of Moldova has adopted a similar decision.

The military commandant in Leningrad, together with the city's internal affairs administration, has worked out a system of interaction of forces, resources, and patrol beats. Military Commandant Gennadiy Volkov said: "An order is an order, and we will fulfill it in the near future."

No Joint Patrols Observed in Leningrad

LD0102201491 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] No joint teams of militia personnel and servicemen of the Soviet Army and Navy appeared today on the streets of Leningrad. City soviet deputies considered that the actions envisaged by the two ministers' order and the USSR president's decree are superfluous at the present time. Moreover, such a method of keeping order may lead to the opposite effect and prove to be a destabilizing factor. A message to Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet Chairman Yeltsin, signed by Shcherbakov, deputy chairman of the Leningrad Soviet, and Shchelkanov, chairman of the Leningrad Soviet Executive Committee, proposes that the number of personnel and the level of equipment of the Internal Affairs bodies be increased by transfer from the Ministry of Defense, as there is no need for emergency measures to be introduced in the city.

Constitutional Experts on Lawfulness of Decrees

LD0102234291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1832 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] Moscow, 1 Feb (TASS)—There has been a preliminary discussion of the question of the lawfulness of the decrees of the USSR president issued recently and other acts at a meeting of the commission of experts of the USSR Constitutional Supervisory Committee.

The pretext for this was in particular an appeal for the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet containing a proposal that a ruling be given on the constitutionality of certain legal acts, above all acts such as the USSR presidential decree "On the Interaction of Militia and Subunits of the USSR Armed Forces in Ensuring Law and Order and Combatting Crime," and some decrees of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and documents of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The aim of the discussion was to ascertain the position of the specialists on the question of the need for the Constitutional Supervisory Committee to accept the aforementioned legal acts for consideration. It was emphasized at the meeting that it is not a question of the expediency of these acts but only of their juridical drafting. The assessment given on them will not be political but purely juridical, from the viewpoint of the observance of legality.

The commission of experts gave appropriate recommendations to the Constitutional Supervisory Committee. The decisive say on whether or not the issue of the non-constitutionality of the acts is accepted for consideration is now up to the committee.

Interior Minister Pugo on Law Enforcement

LD0402123291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1139 GMT 4 Feb 91

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Feb (TASS)—Boris Pugo, the USSR minister of internal affairs, has described the establishment, within the office of the USSR president, of a committee to coordinate the work of law enforcement bodies as "an extremely necessary step" in the intensification of the struggle against crime. "The coordination of the work of all organs engaged in the struggle against crime is a press question," he added in an interview with a TASS correspondent. "Above all, this applies to organs of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and KGB," and also the Procuracy.

The main task of the new body, which the minister described as being "a coordinating rather than a directive structure," is the elaboration of overall approaches and methods in the struggle against crime. "Very reasonable documents, above all a big program for countering crime, have been prepared of late," he continued. "It was drawn up by different departments, however. Therefore a supervisory body is needed to check on implementation."

Answering the question of whether or not concerted actions of law enforcement bodies took place in the past and impacted on the situation Boris Pugo said: "I find it difficult to talk about the past. I have been working in

my present position for only two months, but we evidently lacked coordination. Now, when the KGB has acquired new functions to fight economic crimes, life itself has put this issue on the agenda."

In Boris Pugo's opinion the setting up of a coordinating committee "is not directly linked with the split of MVD bodies in some union republics, in the Baltic republics in particular." At the same time, the USSR interior minister stressed that "the existence of two internal ministries on the territory of some republics is unacceptable." As for the existence of armed formations: "It is simply dangerous for it provides the possibility of armed skirmishes. We have a clear-cut position on this issue: We have to do our best to eliminate the split and reunite the militia," the minister said.

Decree on Action Against Organized Crime

LD0402203791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1500 GMT 4 Feb 91

["Full text" of USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev's decree on measures for stepping up the campaign against dangerous and organized crime; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The state of law and order in the country is getting worse. The rise in the most dangerous crimes continues, and crime is acquiring an interregional nature. The problem of fighting against the drug business has worsened significantly; corruption is affecting more spheres of society. There are good reasons for Soviet people to demand reliable guarantees for ensuring personal safety and the security of property from criminal encroachments, as well as the observance of their constitutional rights.

To intensify the struggle against the most dangerous crimes and their organized forms, and in accordance with the USSR law of 24 September 1990 on additional measures for the stabilization of the economic and sociopolitical life in the country, and point four of the decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet of 23 November 1990 on the situation in the country, I decree:

1. To deem as necessary the establishment of a Main Administration in the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs for fighting the most dangerous crimes, organized crime, corruption, the narcotics trade at the USSR Ministry of Internal affairs.

The USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs should carry out the appropriate changes to the structure of the ministry's apparatus, and submit a proposal on the material, technical, staffing, and financial provision of this office to the USSR Cabinet of Ministers, within a month.

2. The Main Administration of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs for fighting the most dangerous crimes, organized crime, corruption, and the narcotics trade, jointly with the bodies of the USSR KGB, should concentrate attention mainly on exposing, stopping and investigating the activities of criminal associations that commit the gravest crimes and possess inter-republican, international, and corrupted links.

3. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers, the governments of the Union republics, and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs are, within two months, to complete the formation of interregional and regional subunits of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs to combat organized crime, the formation of which is envisaged by the decision No. 496 of the USSR Council of Ministers of 22 May 1990; to establish that the abovementioned subunits are subordinate to the Main Administration of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs for fighting the most dangerous crimes, organized crime, corruption, and the narcotics trade, and also to the ministers of internal affairs of the Union republics; to reinforce these subunits with personnel, and provide them with the necessary work premises and housing stock for employees; and also to provide for their requirements for transport, fuel, lubricants, individual means of protection, radio sets, and computer, video, cinematic, sound recording, crime detection, and other equipment.

4. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers is to examine, during the first half of 1991, the matter of setting up a nondepartmental auditing- control body, including the use of staff from departmental auditing- control subunits, having made special provision in it for a structure to implement investigations and audits in accordance with tasks set by the law enforcement bodies; and to adopt the necessary measures to provide for the requirements of the investigative bodies and courts in obtaining expert accounting and economic opinions in criminal cases.

5. The minister of internal affairs of the USSR, and the chairman of the Committee for State Security of the USSR, are to systematically inform the USSR president about the state and course of the fight against the most dangerous crimes and their organized forms.

[Signed] President of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Mikhail Gorbachev

KGB Report Issued on Gorbachev Decree

LD0402131491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1220 GMT 4 Feb 91

[Text] Moscow, 4 Feb (TASS)—The additional rights and duties allocated by the USSR president to KGB bodies in his 26 January 1991 decree "on measures to safeguard the campaign against economic sabotage and other crimes in the economic sphere" are temporary and aimed primarily at protecting the interests of millions of people at such a difficult time for the country, says a report distributed by the USSR KGB public relations center.

The document points out that the economy is in a protracted crisis where various types of smart operators, wheeler-dealers, and corrupt elements are becoming more active and doing serious harm to the state and

honest workers. There are no serious grounds for allegations that the KGB and other law enforcement bodies are intending to use the presidential decree as a basis for implementing a policy of repression and subverting democratic reforms in society, the report says.

The USSR KGB states that the "powers allocated to it by the presidential decree will be directed exclusively at campaigning against violations of the law. The KGB is acting in close cooperation with other law enforcement bodies, organs of Soviet power, and workers' control committees, and relies on the support of broad sections of the working people," the report notes.

Western Media 'Pessimistic' on Soviet Policy

LD0502163891 Moscow TASS in English 1617 GMT 5 Feb 91

[By TASS international news analyst Gennadiy Petrov]

[Text] Moscow February 5 TASS—"Conservatives Have Launched an Offensive" (LE MONDE), "There is no question of an economic reform now" (LE FIGARO), "Mikhail Gorbachev is Now Against Glasnost and Criticism of His policy" (LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS)—such are evaluations by the French press of the Soviet leadership's latest actions.

A conclusion drawn by the German ARD Television Network struck a discordant note in this respect. When reporting a joint plenary meeting of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and the Central Control Commission, ARD pointed out: "On the whole the plenum results have shown that President Gorbachev intends to go ahead with the policy of reforms".

Pessimistic notes predominate in Western media comments on the situation in the Soviet Union. Almost all measures by the president and the government, aimed at maintaining an elementary economic and social order, are viewed largely in the light of a departure from perestroyka, although quite recently many politologists and the military in the West were striking alarm over anarchy threatening to sweep the country which takes up one sixth of the world's land, possesses a powerful nuclear potential and is called upon to serve as a guarantor of international stability.

Incidentally, the actions of the Soviet leadrership may seem unexpected only to those who not quite attentively follow the developments in the Soviet Union.

It must be recalled that way back in the middle of November last year, President Gorbachev set out his programme at the Soviet Parliament session, emphasising the need to take radical measures to improve the state of affairs in the country as regards political and economic stability, and the maintenance of public order and discipline.

An overwhelming majority of parliamentarians lauded the tough programme because it seemed to be a logical step on the way of continuation of reforms and by no means a reversion to the authoritarian way of life.

One can agree or disagree with conclusion by LE FIGARO which maintains that 1990 was marked by the apotheosis of liberalism in the Soviet Union. But if so why leading Western countries, primarily the United States, while watching the Soviet Union, overstraining itself, was making headway along the road of reforms, nevertheless did not give a tangible financial-and-economic or other support during the "apotheosis" year, limiting itself mainly to promises?

The decision taken by Washington in December last year to grant one billion dollars worth of credits and the promise to abrogate the Jackson-Vanik discriminatory amendment can hardly be regarded as an incentive to radical transformations in the vast country with a population of almost 300 million.

At present, by pleading perestroyka's "skidding" and the tragic events in the Baltics (in my view, it is primarily an economic crisis that is chiefly to blame in many conflicts), some political figures now issue "Punish Moscow" calls.

Such an approach can hardly be regarded as far-sighted. On the contrary, experience confirms the correctness of the conclusion drawn by German Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl that large-scale international efforts would be needed not only to restructure the Soviet economy but also to convince Soviet leaders and the people of the sincerity of the West's intentions.

Moscow Poll Shows Gorbachev Rating Declining

LD0502145691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 5 Feb 91

[Text] The POSTFAKTUM news agency reports that in a telephone poll among Muscovites, conducted in the middle of January this year by a sociological group of the Russian Parliament, the rating of USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev sank below zero, and falls within the negative section of the ratings scale.

Gorbachev, it is stated in the parliamentary sociologists' account, is for the first time on the black list, or among the least respected political figures. Forty-eight percent of those asked stated their readiness to show confidence in the president at potential elections to state and soviet power bodies.

In comparison with November last year, it is noted further in the report, the influence of Boris Yeltsin chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, has also declined. Nevertheless, his rating is, as before relatively high.

Chairman Cited on Federation Council Discussions

PM0402144391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Feb 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by unidentified correspondent incorporating 1 February interview with E. Ardzinba, Abkhaz Supreme Soviet chairman, under general heading "Council of the Federation Session"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] When the Council of the Federation session had finished, our correspondent asked one of the participants—E. Ardzinba, Abkhaz Supreme Soviet chairman—to comment on the discussions:

"I would note the following important aspects of the Council of the Federation session", he said. "Above all, the genuine effort on the part of the participants—and leaders or representatives from all the union and autonomous republics, except the Adzhar ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], attended—to find a common approach when discussing the draft Union Treaty. The main argument centered around two of its articles: membership of the Union and the center's powers.

"The crux of the matter is as follows: Can the autonomous republics have direct membership of the Union or only as part of a union republic? Just how relevant this is to our multinational state can be judged from recent events in the Abkhaz ASSR, and today's happenings in South Ossetia and Nagorno-Karabakh.

"The second question is directly linked with the sovereignty of participants in the treaty, and concerns the rights the Union administrative organs will be invested. Without entering into the details of the opinions expressed, I will say that it is the very absence of strict demarcation between Union and republic powers that has produced, and continues to produce to this day, many contradictions. Removing them means creating real prerequisites for the functioning of the state.

"However, this is dependent to a significant degree on solving another problem—the distinction between social and state property. Until agreement is reached here, it is not really possible to count on the treaty's conclusion.

"This week, authorized representatives from all components of the federation will gather in Moscow to begin agreeing texts for the treaty's articles and also for the amendments and proposals voiced at the Council of the Federation session."

As has become known, the details of the dramatic events in Lithuania and Latvia were examined under item two of the session's agenda. When approached by our correspondent, participants in the session refused to comment on the course of the discussion, saying only that "the search for mutually acceptable solutions via peaceful talks is necessary."

Such restraint merely confirms that the conclusions drawn by the commission working in Lithuania and Latvia on the Supreme Soviet's orders are not supported by everybody. Least of all the representatives from the Baltic republics. It would not be presumptuous to say that the delegations appointed under the presidential decree to discuss political, social, and economic questions with representatives from these three republics can expect problems in their search for ways out of a political conflict that has resulted in loss of life.

Further on Discussion

LD0102220791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1828 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] Moscow, 1 Feb (TASS)—A variety of questions connected with the preparation of the new Union treaty and discussion of the situation in the Baltic republics—such was the agenda of the regular session of the Federation Council, held on 1 February under the chairmanship of USSR President M.S. Gorbachev.

In accordance with a decision taken at the previous session, the Federation Council embarked on a specific examination of the clauses in the document, intended to be the legal basis of a multiethnic state, reformed in accordance with federal principles. Proceeding from the decision of the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the participants in the discussions concentrated their attention primarily on the demarcation of powers between the Union and the components of the federation.

The discussions were businesslike. The participants advocated that the treaty should clearly define which powers are jointly shared by the Union and the republics and which questions will be delegated by the republics to Union organs of power and administration. While in principle supporting the approach to demarcation of functions reflected in the draft, speakers made many criticisms and additional points. A number of new questions needing further attention were raised.

M.S. Gorbachev stressed that the source for the renewal of the Union is the will of the people in our country to unite and voluntary agreement among republics to build a democratic federative state.

In this connection, the results of the referendum to be held following the decision of the congress of people's deputies and the USSR Supreme Soviet will be of great importance. We are striving to set up a lively and a dynamic Union whose policies and actions are predictable for its own population as much as for the whole of the world community.

In resolutely renewing the Union, we wish to preserve everything positive that our peoples have gained over the decades and centuries of living together.

A decision has been adopted to insure that already in the very near future the authorized representatives of the components of the federation should agree on the texts of the articles of the treaty. Scientists and experts are to be involved in the work.

On the second item of the agenda information was heard from A. Gorbunovs, chairman of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet; E. Savisaar, prime minister of the Estonian SSR; and E. Bickauskas, permanent representative of the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR.

N. Nishanov, G.S. Tarazevich, and A.A. Denisov, who visited the Baltic republics at the instruction of the USSR Supreme Soviet, made speeches setting out their assessment of the situation.

In the course of the discussion, the details of the dramatic events in Lithuania and Latvia that led to human casualties, as well as the deep-rooted causes of the conflict that arose, were thoroughly and impartially considered.

The speeches stressed that the anticonstitutional actions taken in the Baltic republics and violations of the rights of a considerable number of citizens had provoked confrontation in society. One illegality had led to another. The central organs of power had also failed to show necesary firmness in the protection of legality.

The Council of the Federation supported the 22 January statement by the USSR president January on the impermissibility of the use of force for tackling political issues, on the need to remove the sources of the conflictual situation, and to restore constitutional order. That is the only way one can completely remove the danger of a new wave of arguments and eruptions of violence and insure that people's lives return normal.

The Council of the Federation stressed that unconditional implementation of the USSR's president's decree "On Banning the Setting Up of Armed Formations That Are Not Envisaged in the USSR's Legislation, and on Confiscation of Weapons If Owned Illegally" must be insured in all the republcis across the whole of the country's territory.

Those taking part in the work of the Council of the Federation were A.I. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet; V.S. Pavlov, the USSR prime minister, and members of the cabinet of ministers.

Plenum Resolution on Republic Party Budgets

PM0602114191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Feb 91 Second Edition p 2

[From column under the general heading "Resolutions of the Combined Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and Central Control Commission of 31 January 1991": "On the Union Republic Communist Parties' Budgets for 1991"]

[Text] 1. Union republic communist parties' budgets shall be set at 907.9 million rubles [R] as regards income and R1,967.9 million as regards expenditure.

R1,060 million shall be drawn from the CPSU budget to cover the union republic communist parties' budget deficit.

The CPSU Central Committee Administration of Affairs shall be instructed to particularize the figures for the party budget in the process of its execution.

2. Union republic communist party central committees, in accordance with the CPSU Statutes, shall draw up party organizations' budgets taking account of local conditions and focusing financial resources on priority avenues of activity—the fulfillment of the CPSU statutory tasks and the creation of material guarantees for party organizations' political and organizational work.

Measures shall be elaborated and implemented to overcome the party budget deficit and to prepare party organizations for the transition to self-financing. To this end the attraction of additional income from production and economic activity will be envisaged, as will the more efficient utilization of the party's material base and other sources.

Monitoring of the correct and rational expenditure of party funds shall be ensured with the participation of control and control-and-auditing commissions.

3. Primary party organizations and party committees in conjunction with control organs shall examine the state of discipline and the fulfillment of statutory norms by Communists, and make a principled assessment of the actions of CPSU members who fail to fulfill the demands of the Statutes or who decline to provide material support for the party. They shall proceed on the basis that under present-day conditions this support is a political as well as a financial issue.

4. Union republic communist party central committees, kray, oblast, okrug, city, and rayon party committees, party organizations, and Communists shall be guided by the 28th party congress resolution "On the CPSU's Budget and Property" as regards questions concerning ownership rights over CPSU property.

The plenum emphasizes the collective and international nature of CPSU property and obliges party committees to ensure that it is protected as a common party asset within the framework of existing legislation.

Party Plenum Registers CPSU Statutes

PM0602092191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Feb 91 Second Edition p 2

[From column under the general heading "Resolutions of the Combined Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and Central Control Commission of 31 January 1991": "On the Preparations for the Registration of the CPSU Statutes"]

[Text] On the basis of the demands of the USSR law "On Public Associations" of 9 October 1990, the combined

plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and Central Control Commission resolves:

1. To grant the CPSU Central Committee Politburo the authority to submit the registration of the CPSU Statutes to the USSR Ministry of Justice.

2. Because the USSR law "On Public Associations" (Article 10) makes it compulsory for public association statutes to include a provision for ending their activity, it shall be considered necessary to make the relevant amendment to the CPSU Statutes at the next party congress or conference.

Those submitting the statutes shall present the USSR Ministry of Justice with this resolution as a written undertaking on this matter.

3. The plenum notes the great political importance of the act relating to the state registration of the CPSU Statutes. It marks a deepening of the process of legal transformation in Soviet society and will make it possible to make fuller use of the state's legal potential as the party implements its policy in the interests of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, and other social strata adhering to the socialist choice. The plenum draws the attention of party organizations and Communists to the need to develop cooperation with public organizations and movements of a socialist orientation, and to engage in a constructive dialogue with political forces operating within the framework of the USSR Constitution.

CPSU Joint Plenum Speeches Reported

Bessmertnykh Discusses Gulf Policy

PM0502134991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Feb 91 Second Edition p 4

[Speech by USSR Foreign Minister A.A. Bessmertnykh; from unattributed account of speeches at 31 January 1991 combined plenum of CPSU Central Committee and CPSU Central Control Commission]

[Text] Are those comrades who have spoken at the plenum and who believe that certain aspects of our policy regarding to Iraq's aggression against Kuwait do not entirely coincide with the Soviet Union's national or state interests correct? Answering this question, USSR Foreign Minister A.A. Bessmertnykh shared his view of the development of the situation in the Gulf. The essence of the comments made here, he said, is that the Soviet Union has somehow found itself as one of the countries that have sanctioned the use of force against Iraq and has thereby virtually helped to fan a conflagration near Soviet borders.

What alternatives did we have? First, the obvious alternative was to side with a country with whom we have a treaty of friendship and cooperation. But that would, naturally, have been an absurd assumption, and could in no way have been implemented politically. We could have stayed neutral, but that would have been tantamount to siding with Iraq—after all, the international community would have censured Iraq while we would have stayed aloof and pretended not to notice. We could not do that either. That is why, as soon as the aggression was committed, the Soviet Union took vigorous action above all to avert a further outbreak of conflict and to promote a return by Iraqi troops to their own territory.

Recalling the numerous efforts made by the Soviet Union to seek a political solution to the conflict, including the direct contacts the USSR president had with G. Bush and S. Husayn, the speaker concluded: We have encountered a quite irrational line in international policy, a line that runs counter not only to the general state of affairs in the world, but also to the interests of the Arab people themselves. He stressed that even after the start of the military operation against Iraq the Soviet Union's policy has been aimed at ensuring that the conflict is localized, limited, and brought to a conclusion.

One concern is to prevent the destruction of Iraq itself and not to harm the Iraqi people. The entire world soon started discussing this too, although before the Soviet Union vigorously started doing so the world community had been to a considerable extent silent. Because of this, A.A. Bessmertnykh cited one curious detail. When M.S. Gorbachev was speaking on Soviet television about events in the Baltic, he was asked a question about the Gulf. His answer to this question became known worldwide (and evoked a strong reaction). But for some reason our mass media did not pay any attention to this fact. Yet it was then that the strong campaign was begun to ensure the safety of the Iraqi infrastructure, the Iraqi people, and Iraq as a state. It was then that it was stated, and subsequently developed in diplomatic work, that the Security Council resolutions do not sanction the elimination of Iraq as a country. They do not envisage harming the Iraqi people, who have for all intents and purposes fallen victim to their own leader's unreasonable behavior.

It is these positions, the speaker went on to say, that are contained in the latest Soviet and U.S. joint statement. Quite frankly, we feel the same concern that previous speakers mentioned; namely, is there a threat to our southern borders from the standpoint of the spread of radiation and contamination from destroyed nuclear installations and chemical laboratories? On the president's instructions, I put that question directly to the Americans when I was in Washington. Their reply coincided with the figures provided by our own military and other intelligence. There is no radiation, chemical, or biological threat at present.

However, the threat of the use of chemical weapons still exists in the region if someone wants to use them—and Iraq does have a chemical potential. Thus, the USSR foreign minister stated, the aim of our policy is to end

the conflict and to safeguard and restore Kuwait's independence. On the way to this goal, we are trying to use all methods—above all, political methods—to limit the intensity of the conflict.

Polozkov on Support of Leadership

LD0402220491 Moscow TASS in English 2129 GMT 4 Feb 91

[Text] Moscow February 5 TASS—Soviet communists should support the Soviet state leadership's measures aimed to stabilise the situation in the country, and invigorate their work in soviets, Russian Communist Party chief Ivan Polozkov said on Monday.

Addressing party activists at Moscow's Dynamo plant, Polozov spoke about the results of the recent plenary meeting of the Soviet Communists Party Central Committee. He said the meeting was a turning point in the Soviet Communist Party's activities and signalled an offensive in the political struggle.

It is necessary to return perestroika to its geniune road, Polozov said. He said the "so called democrats managed to substitute the aims of perestroika". He criticised attempts to convince the Soviet people that the return to capitalism was the best way for them.

At the same time, he denied statements that the country is switching to dictatorship.

Speaking about the situation in the Baltics, Polozkov said there was an attempt to "stage some political play there". He believes that the conflict in the Baltics was caused by the fact that "totalitarian nationalist regimes are being formed there, oriented to the West".

Latvian Against 'Half-Measures'

PM0502152191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Feb 91 Second Edition p 3

[Speech by V.F. Rymashevskiy, second secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee; from unattributed account of speeches at 31 January 1991 combined plenum of CPSU Central Committee and CPSU Central Control Commission]

[Text] Continuing the discussion of the state of affairs in the country and party and of how Communists should act in the present crisis situation, V.F. Rymashevskiy, second secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, drew the plenum participants' attention to the situation in the republic. There has indeed been a major tragedy and blood has been shed in Latvia, he said. The poisonous seeds of enmity and hatred have been sown once again. The harsh logic of confrontation, defying the voice of reason, has placed people on opposite sides of the barricades in the direct sense of the word. Naturally people are worried by the main, key questions: How could it have happened, what are the reasons for the clash, who is responsible for the lawlessness and deaths, and what can we expect tomorrow? It must be said that here too there are many people—not only ethnic radicals and rabid separatists—who are trying to to blame the Latvian Communist Party and its leadership for what has happened. A persistent effort is being made to establish a stereotype of Communists' conspiratorial aspirations and intentions, of their ascertaining "attitudes toward Soviet power by force of arms." This is characterized by a desire to hide from people the true reasons for the crisis, for the split in society. The numerous instances of illegal actions by the Latvian official authorities, gross violation of civil rights and of the constitution itself, and discrimination against people on ethnic gounds are deliberately ignored.

I want to say that the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee fully shares the assessments and conclusions contained in the USSR president's 22 January statement. It is seen by the republic's party organizations and by all reasonable people as the sober and firm voice of the country's leader.

The situation in Latvia did not heat up overnight and it is not due to the impact of secondary factors. The present republic leadership was surely warned of the unpredictable consequences that might result from a war of laws, blind obedience to the People's Front's guidelines, and disregard for others' opinions. Attention was also repeatedly drawn to the potential danger inherent in the creation of formations of "custodians of order," in the untrammeled fueling of ethnic hysteria, and the essentially instigatory nature of the "Latvia for Latvians" appeal. But these fair warnings were ignored. Moreover, the People's Front deputies' majority in the republic's Supreme Soviet entered into an overt alliance with the "citizens' congress"—a blatantly nationalist, profascist public entity aspiring to the role of an alternative power structure. The dismantling of socialism, the return to a bourgeois system and a class society, the establishment of a totalitarian regime, and Latvia's alienation from the Soviet Union became real. And it was this adventurist policy and people's dissatisfaction as a result of it that gave rise to the current tension and harsh confrontation.

The speaker described all the labels that are being pinned on the Public Salvation Committee as misplaced. It origins are in the committees for the protection of citizens' rights and USSR and Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Constitutions which appeared last spring as an expression of public protest against the lawlessness, discrimination, and irresponsible behavior of the authorities.

The situation in the republic and party organizations' specific actions, the speaker stressed, cannot be fully understood without mentioning the naked anticommunism that has been inflicted on society and on the Latvian Communist Party. More and more openly anticommunism is shifting into the mainstream of the policy of the republic's current ruling circles. Essentially the aim is to destroy our party and remove it from society's political life. The population is being subjected to massive propaganda indoctrination via the media, that is

entirely in the hands of the People's Front. Threats of physical violence against party activists are becoming more frequent. Moral terror is in evidence in particularly wild forms in the countryside. Effectively we are dealing with a well-planned campaign that is coordinated both inside and outside the country. Appealing to the world community and Western official circles is no harmless occupation either. I believe that Union foreign policy services should act more decisively and protect the republic from direct interference in its internal affairs by foreign states.

It is deplorable also that Yeltsin's voice should have joined the turbid stream of public opinion disorientation, the speaker said. His statement and the documents signed in Tallinn provoked a sharp, negative reaction on the part of the majority of the republic's population. It has to be said that all this propaganda ballyhoo was bound to affect the moral and political climate in the republic and people's minds and feelings. Party organizations have to reckon with this when choosing forms of work and action tactics. In these conditions the moral and political support that comes from the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and union republic communist parties is extremely important.

V.F. Rymashevskiy described the development of the situation since M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with Lativan Supreme Soviet Chairman Gorbunov and Latvian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary Rubiks. The implementation of the accords reached at the meeting, the speaker believes, should lead to positive results. But the situation remains complex, unstable, and explosive. The republic Supreme Soviet and government are in no hurry to adopt practical measures to restore constitutional order. Only one point has been suspended in the 14 November Supreme Soviet resolution that badly upset servicemen and their families. The strident anticommunist appeals have not ceased. Encroachments on party property continue. The situation cannot be quiet when the barricades have not been taken down and nothing has been done to disband and disarm the alternative (to the militia) voluntary people's militias, while so-called "state self-defense detachments," not provided for by existing legislation, are being set up and hurriedly supplied with weapons and equipment. We are convinced, it was noted in the speech, that these questions can only be solved and the situation can only be stabilized by means of dialogue among public forces. As for the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee's position, we are prepared to work constructively. The main thing is to put the republic back on the rightful path of solving all problems on the basis of the USSR and Latvian SSR Constitutions.

We must all take it as read (as is obvious in Latvia) that a brutal, uncompromising power struggle is in progress, a struggle for the destruction of socialism, for the breakup of the party, the speaker noted in conclusion. And our opponents are becoming increasingly brazen in their use of all methods and means of struggle, disdaining neither lies nor slander. Therefore, one must not confine oneself to half-measures, one must not tarry. We are convinced that the center's position and our position must be clear, consistent, and assertive, as dictated by the logic of the political struggle.

Moiseyev Assails 'Hysteria'

PM0502144991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Feb 91 Second Edition p 3

[Speech by N.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Ground Forces Political Directorate; from unattributed account of speeches at 31 January 1991 combined plenum of CPSU Central Committee and CPSU Central Control Commission]

[Text] Many leaders of political parties and movements in opposition to the CPSU, while hypocritically declaring that the Army must be outside politics, do everything to impose their own views and political principles on the troops, N.A. Moiseyev, chief of the Ground Forces Political Directorate, pointed out in his speech. Considerable effort is being made to make the Army clash with the people and to neutralize the influence of the CPSU and of Communists on the farfetched pretext of depoliticization. The operational tactics are changing too. Emissaries of particular parties and groupings increasingly often try to penetrate military units and directly influence personnel.

More than 1,500 instances of anti-Army propaganda have been stopped in Ground Forces garrisons over the past six months alone, and tens of thousands of copies of printed products with provocative contents have been confiscated.

The statement by B.N. Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, concerning events in the Baltic region elicited an extremely negative response among the Ground Forces, and throughout the Armed Forces, he continued. In numerous letters and telegrams it is assessed as politically erroneous and as provoking violations of military duty and the oath. Among servicemen drafted from Russia there has recently been an increase in the number of violators of military discipline, including servicemen who go absent without leave from places of service. It evidently will not be easy for the statement's author to explain to the parents of Russian men why their sons are being pushed into actions that manifestly do not conform to the law. In the speaker's opinion, it is immoral to involve a young soldier in political games having nothing to do with concern for democracy and the people's good.

Speaking of the work of the mass media, he said that balance and honesty in coverage of the Army topic are still drowning in a turbid stream of tendentiousness, overt slander, and dirty anti-Arm fabrications. Behind this can be perceived not only the unscrupulousness of some journalists but also the well coordinated activity of certain destructive forces aimed at demoralizing and disrupting the Army. We must proceed from this in our

assessments and conclusions. To suit the political situation in the provinces, the speaker declared, anti-Army lawmaking activity is continuing, union legal acts relating to defense questions are not being fulfilled, and moral pressure is being exerted on servicemen and members of their families. A real economic blockade of garrisons is under way in a number of republics—seriously complicating the already difficult life of servicemen. Contract deliveries of necessities and food for servicemen and their family members are being disrupted.

Serious tension has arisen over the provision of housing for them. Approximately 200,000 families of officers and ensigns are now without housing. The situation is becoming increasingly complex given the troop withdrawal from East European countries. We see the objective nature of these difficulties. But we would like to count on human participation and assistance from party and state organs in resolving the complex social and domestic problems facing servicemen.

The speaker pointed to the growing prestige of Army party organizations. There has been an appreciable drop in numbers leaving the CPSU, and the party's ranks are growing steadily. The Armed Forces have now entered an exceptionally complex stage in their development. By decision of the president, political organs in party organizations have begun to be reformed. They have to master new functions and seek forms of work that will more fully accord with the purpose of military-political organs. As before, Army Communists and party committees will channel their activity most directly toward rallying military collectives, asserting highly moral relations in them, and achieving high combat readiness and the troops' field training.

He singled out among the priority tasks a substantial improvement in cooperation with local party organizations in the population's heroic-patriotic education and in the struggle against calumny and slander against the Army and the party. There are good examples of such work. Party organizations in Belorussia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and the majority of Russian Federation krays and oblasts regard joint solutions to defense questions with great understanding and support.

N.A. Moiseyev resolutely rejected the new wave of anti-Army slander concerning the measures taken recently to maintain order and ensure citizens' personal safety. Not so long ago, he said, so-called fighters for democracy were accusing the center and the president of indecisiveness, of a lack of measures to combat crime, at the tops of their voices. But there was an immediate outburst of emotion as soon as the first practical steps were taken in strict accordance with the law to halt the growth of chaos. Those same voices began to accuse the Army and Ministry of Internal Affairs of all mortal sins and began to provoke the public into anti-Army actions. It is evidently very advantageous to some people to fuel anti-Army hysteria in the country and to set the Armed Forces against the people's interests.

Malofeyev on Threats to Communism

PM0502125191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Feb 91 Second Edition p 3

[Speech by A.A. Malofeyev, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee; from unattributed account of speeches at 31 January 1991 combined plenum of CPSU Central Committee and CPSU Central Control Commission]

[Text] Recent weeks have dispelled the hopes of a warming of the political climate in the country that had emerged at the Fourth Congress of People's Deputies, A.A. Malofeyev, first secretary of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, said. This is to be regretted, but reality is reality and must not be disregarded.

Antisocialist forces, urged on from abroad, have mounted a bitter attack on the existing system, the USSR president, and the CPSU. They threaten Communists and those who try to oppose this with everything they like, even including physical violence.

The population of Belorussia perceives with particular pain and alarm the dramatic events that have happened to our neighbors: in Lithuania and Latvia. We mourn for the innocent victims and believe that the human tragedy must receive a legal assessment. At the same time there is no doubt that the events in the Baltic region occurred chiefly because the rights of citizens of nonindigenous nationalities were being infringed and the constitution of the USSR and the Baltic republics was being ignored.

Strange though it may seem, our ideological opponents, individual mass media, foreign voices, and even the governments of some countries are bending over backward to distort the truth and to show what is happening in a light favorable to them. Their aim is undoubtedly to discredit the CPSU, the present system, and the Soviet Army and to undermine confidence in the USSR president. Anticommunist forces would like to deploy similar scenarios not only in the Baltic region but also in other parts of the country. And this comes as no surprise to many people. Who did not know of these schemes? This was spoken of back at the Third Congress of People's Deputies, but its decisions aimed at neutralizing events at the very outset were not fulfilled.

For all the dramatic nature of the situation in the Baltic and other regions, the speaker continued, we need cold reason, more constructive decisions than ever, and the ability to change the situation. The chief thing, in my view, is to reinstate the USSR Constitution and Soviet laws. We have no other way. The illusions that people abroad will feed us have been dispelled. And we can no longer live on these fairytales. We must roll up our sleeves and work. Otherwise dramatic events are inevitable. If this is not done, a very serious blow will be struck against both the Union and the new Union Treaty, and it will be difficult to recover. To achieve this

aim, the country's president must use all the powers of presidential rule the people have given him.

We often speak of restoring confidence in the party. But it has to be noted that it has been losing its positions in many areas also since the 28th CPSU Congress. This is a bitter truth, but it is the truth.

Our opponents' blows are increasing. And they do not receive a serious rebuff. Today we resemble a party that, unfortunately, is incapable of defending itself. There is a big knot of interconnected reasons for this. One of them is that we do not have a harmonious system of work from top to bottom regarding the organizational-political strengthening and the renewal of the CPSU, and this renders the party unprotected against attacks and slander.

It is regrettable that the campaign aimed at removing the CPSU from the political arena is being assisted by those who carry a party card but who no longer have anything in common with the party's ideals. And not only rank-and-file Communists.

Despite having proclaimed the policy of perestroyka and of the country's renewal on socialist principles, the CPSU still has not made in-depth theoretical and practical studies. Above all, concerning its role and place in society under conditions of a multiparty system and relations with various sociopolitical organizations and movements. Many of them take antisocialist stands, inflaming the atmosphere in society to the utmost. For how long will we try to catch the departing train? We must learn at last to work for the long term.

I would place the question of price reform in this same category. It is tricky, quite complex, and of concern to people. Wholesale purchase prices have been raised on a centralized basis, but the most acute problem—retail prices—has been left for local organs to resolve. As a result, every republic has its own approach. I am convinced that there cannot be a unified state without common principles of price formation. In reforming retail prices, we must seek funds for compensation so as to prevent a drop in the population's living standards. And the CPSU Central Committee must have its own clear position on this question.

Recent events, the speaker pointed out, have shown very clearly that the mass media of the "fourth estate" could become the first power. Work up and excite people to the utmost. I don't like to speak of this, but I am forced to do so. This weapon is mighty and formidable. We have pronounced this sentence 1,000 times, but we understood its essence far later than our opponents. Here is just one detail. They set wage rates for the workers in their own mass media that are considerably in excess of those the party press employees have: Journalists on party publications today live under the very worst conditions. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo must seek opportunities to rectify this injustice. If we do not take this step, we will lose the possibility of telling people the truth. It is in danger today. Precisely those who call themselves "democrats" and who have shamelessly appropriated the right to interpret the ideals of democracy are increasingly striving toward adventurism and showing a militant intolerance of any dissidence.

The time has come for our party to take practical actions. This must be done in every party organization, in the Central Committee Secretariat, in the Politburo. Then we can win the political battle for the perestroyka of society.

Grigoryev Calls for Positive Effort

PM0502162791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Feb 91 Second Edition p 3

[Speech by V.V. Grigoryev, first secretary of Vitebsk Belorussian Communist Party Obkom; from unattributed account of speeches at 31 January 1991 combined plenum of CPSU Central Committee and CPSU Central Control Commission]

[Text] The CPSU must transform itself from the party of ideas and authority it used to be into a party of the most responsible, wise, and purposeful people capable of thinking and acting for themselves. That was the main theme of the speech from V.V. Grigoryev, first secretary of the Vitebsk Belorussian Communist Party Obkom [Oblast Committee]. In present conditions, he stated, with the extremely low level of state, labor, and legal discipline, it is no longer any good waiting passively for decrees and instructions from above, demanding everything from the top, or shrugging helplessly at the sight of failure.

We in the oblast party organization believe, the speaker continued, that at the present stage only a sharp increase in party discipline and responsibility for implementing socioeconomic programs, primarily on the part of economic leaders and specialists in the national economy, labor collectives, and the management apparatus as a whole, can counter destabilization and unmanageability in the economy. Therefore the Vitebsk Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies, acting on the suggestion of Communists, has decided to establish temporarily, until the adoption of the corresponding legislative acts by the USSR and the republic, that the Oblast Soviet and its organs of power can call leaders, specialists, and other workers of the management apparatus to account, up to and including dismissal, for gross violations of the law or USSR presidential decrees, nonfulfillment of USSR and Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] government decisions and decisions of the Oblast Soviet or other local soviets of people's deputies, or manifestations of bureaucracy or red tape that harms the interests of the state or labor collectives. Our decision was greeted with approval in the oblast.

Party Comrades! At this difficult time for us all, we must close ranks and support the efforts of the president and general secretary to stabilize the political situation in the country and to protect him from the hail of attacks assailing him recently, coming also from Communists.

Unless we do that the country may well find itself on the brink of civil war. The political maximalism being displayed, incidentally, by some of our academicians is highly suitable fuel for already inflamed passions. I have in mind, for example, the suggestion that the general secretary leave the party. Then, they argue, the party will cease to exist more quickly, and that will be for the good of the people. Pardon me, but what good is that?! You read things like that and you think sadly: Thoughtlessness combined with political ambition is extremely dangerous, it can literally destroy society. Who will answer for the consequences? I am afraid that there will not be anyone, not even the authors of dubious scientific or, more accurately, pseudoscientific recommendations. Each ill-considered statement may result in catastrophe for everyone. Let us think about that before it is too late. It seems to me, V.V. Grigoryev stated, that a politician, like a physician, should always be guided to the utmost degree by the wise commandment: "Do no harm!"

Unfortunately, by no means all politicians possess true statecraft. The situation in the international sphere is particularly alarming. The speaker then asked CPSU Central Committee Member E.A. Shevardnadze. Please tell us, he said, what principles guided you when you resolved the question of the hasty withdrawal of troops from Hungary? I put this question at the request of thousands of soldiers in the units returning from there and being stationed in Vitebsk Oblast. These soldiers, our sons and grandsons, are living in tents in a 20-degree frost, and officers and their families are living in barracks. Our diplomatic approaches to the war in the Persian Gulf must be more balanced and circumspect too, the speaker believed.

The Vitebsk party organization leader expressed his attitude toward the situation in the mass media. He recalled Marx' thesis that a moral state presupposes a state way of thinking on the part of its members, even if they are in opposition to the organs of state and the government. The people have a saying that "truth is the soul of morality." Is there much truth in the so-called free press, for example in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, KURANTY, and so forth? Unfortunately there is not, but what there is in abundance is denigration of the party in newspapers headed by Communists. I liked CPSU Central Committee Member L.P. Kravchenko's plain speaking on Central Television yesterday. You could clearly see a high moral stance there, and that is the most important thing in journalism.

Atadzhanov on Union's Future

PM0402140191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Feb 91 Second Edition p 4

[Speech by R. Atadzhanov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Lenin kolkhoz in Uzbekistan; from unattributed account of speeches at 31 January 1991 combined plenum of CPSU Central Committee and CPSU Central Control Commission]

[Text] Why does our party resort to defense and lose the initiative, instead of launching an offensive? How did this situation come about? These are the key questions that simply cannot be avoided today, R. Atadzhanov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of a kolkhoz in Uzbekistan, said. These are the questions we Central Committee members are being asked by Communists and nonparty people in the provinces. But they are very difficult to answer. The speaker named several reasons for the situation. They include the state of ideological activity. You could count on your fingers the newspapers that adopt a firm and unshakable CPSU stance. Their voices are drowned by the mighty choir of anticommunist publications. How, one wonders, can these movements and organizations afford the paper and the cost of printing and distributing their publications when many CPSU committees and organizations are unable to ensure the regular publication of a full run of their newspapers? It turns out that glasnost and the Law on the Press benefit primarily the destructive forces, have given them a free hand, and have granted them the right to addle people's minds daily.

Experience shows, the speaker said, that the party's authority depends above all on the effectiveness of its organizational and political activity, on its addressing specific tasks. Therefore, our oblast party organization is focusing attention on the development of agricultural production and the social sphere. People can see that the party has no aim other than the improvement of their well-being. And when we announced a Lenin call-up of people to the party in Khorezm after the 28th CPSU Congress, there were nearly twice as many people wanting to become Communists as there were in 1989. Unfortunately, this fact did not even interest PRAVDA, let alone other publications. Yet the media report with pleasure and undisguised glee how many people have quit the party ranks.

As a farmer, I am particularly worried about the question of market relations. What do they mean for our peasants? If you analyze all the actions that are being performed by legislative and executive organs, you might conclude that their aim is to eliminate the kolkhoz system. They have been massively propagandizing private ownership of land lately, highlighting its advantages. I agree, the kolkhoz chairman went on, there are many farms in our republic and beyond that have been living off the state for decades, operating unprofitably, dependent on subsidies, and unable to pay their debts. But there are kolkhozes and kolkhozes. You cannot apply the same yardstick to all farms. For example, in the past one-two years loss-making farms have practically disappeared from Khorezm Oblast. Last year our kolkhoz alone, specializing in cotton production, obtained an income of more than 7 million rubles [R], and over R300,000 was provided by subsidiary activities. However, there are kolkhozes in the oblast whose indicators are better than ours. Personally, I cannot go along with the elimination of kolkhozes, they have demonstrated their viability in practice. What is needed

is an agrarian policy that covers all forms of ownership, including collective, and has equal development opportunities.

The question of private ownership of land in our conditions could split society, the speaker believes. The 22d Uzbek Communist Party Congress and the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet session unequivocally opposed private ownership of land. This stems from the republic's traditions and its natural-climatic conditions, its dependence on irrigation farming, on water resources. Therefore, it is inadvisable that the USSR referendum on the question of land should be conducted in all the republics. And the plenum should support this proposition.

A nationwide referendum on the question of the future of the Union is in the offing as well. Of course, the majority of Soviet people will vote for it. We have too many problems we cannot solve alone. Nonetheless, Communists must prepare for the referendum and actively explain and uphold their own view.

Finally, it is very worrying to see that the attacks on the USSR president are stronger than ever. One would like the plenum to express its full support for his actions to stabilize the situation and combat economic sabotage and crime. These are the instructions the Communists of Khorezm Oblast, Uzbekistan, gave to me.

Kulikov Demands Shatalin's Expulsion

PM0502142991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Feb 91 Second Edition p 4

[Speech by V.S. Kulikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and milling machine operator at Nizhniy Novgorod's S. Ordzhonikidze Aviation Production Association; from unattributed account of speeches at 31 January 1991 combined plenum of CPSU Central Committee and CPSU Central Control Commission]

[Text] V.S. Kulikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and milling machine operator at Nizhniy Novgorod's S. Ordzhonikidze Aviation Production Association, reported that the association's Communists had instructed him to read out the following appeal to the combined plenum of the party Central Committee and Central Control Commission.

The political situation since the 28th CPSU Congress has shown that a situation typified by the existence of two political trends has definitely emerged in the country. On the one hand are Communists, the aim and purpose is to build a state of social equality and a society of equal people with guaranteed rights and equal responsibilities for all. On the other hand are representatives of political trends who are propagandizing the restoration in the country of bourgeois institutions of power. Exploiting their majority in a number of Supreme Soviets and certain local soviets, they are legally introducing bourgeois laws and orders in the country. Most of the mass media—consistently discrediting the history of the state, the Bolshevik Party that was victorious in 1917, and its leaders—find themselves in the hands of these "democrats." As a result, whole generations of Soviet people have found themselves in all intents and purposes deprived of a past. Their entire life is now being dubbed not only mistaken but criminal.

This situation is impermissible, and we demand that Communist deputies put a stop to this outrage by making use of all means of legislative initiative. The most typical feature of the current time is the fact that these same political forces have launched in the mass media a campaign, unprecedented in its scale and unparalleled in its blatant crudeness, to discredit the USSR president, who is also general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

While expressing our support for the recent steps taken by the USSR president, we at the same time express concern at the lack of any measures from the CPSU Central Committee capable of protecting the president and refuting the accusations made by the opposition. Moreover, a number of CPSU Central Committee members have been issuing statements to the mass media running counter to the party's goals and tasks. We demand that the plenum expel from the CPSU Central Committee Academician Shatalin, whose position recently has not coincided with the communist movement's goals and tasks. Given the severe economic and political situation in the country, and the fact that the sole alternative to the administrative-edict system is democratic chaos, we demand that the general secretary find effective ways to collaborate with republic communist parties to maintain the peoples' living standards and instill order worthy of Soviet people in the country. It is only if these conditions are met that the president can count on the continuing support and trust of our plant's Communists.

Girenko Interviewed on CPSU Plenum

LD0102191691 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Interview with Andrey Nikolayevich Gurenko, CPSU Central Committee secretary, by correspondent Valeriy Golubev, following the conclusion of the CPSU Central Committee Nationalities Policy Commission meeting on 1 February, in Moscow; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Golubev] Andrey Nikolayevich, the party's Central Committee plenum is over. And the first question is about the agenda and the results of the plenum?

[Girenko] The plenum started with a discussion of the current situation and the party's tasks. The plenum noted that the current situation was characterized by a very great degree of strain in our society and a whole series of crisis phenomena. This is the result of the fact that the country is on the verge of adopting very important decisions on all the matters concering the switch to

market relations. A whole series of issues pursuing a policy of social protection for the working people, and above all those who are inadequately provided for, is a responsibility for the party. And everyone is anxious about all the processes that, one way or another, are connected with relations between nationalities or have their basis in relations between nationalities, that are developing in a very difficult way in this country.

[Golubev] Just today the party's Central Committee Nationalities Policy Commission convened here. I'd like to ask you the following question. In conflicts between nationalities today, communists find themselves on both sides of the barricades. Don't you think this sort of phenomenon is a result of the fact that there isn't as yet a new concept of nationalities policy adapted to present-day circumstances?

[Girenko] I can't agree with you that the party lacks a concept for its nationalities policy. In September 1989 this matter was specially examined at a Central Committee plenum, and after a long period of failing to pay sufficient attention to issues of relations between nationalities, the party thoroughly analyzed these matters, the state of this issue, and adopted the party's new nationalities policy. Naturally, it cannot be an unchanging thing: It is being adapted, amended, and enriched inline with the real processes taking place in our lives. The plenum yesterday quite plainly backed the process of affirmation of the sovereignty of the union and autonomous republics, considering this to be an indispensable prerequisite for the setting-up of our renewed union state.

PRAVDA Issues Editorial on Party Plenum

PM0602000591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Feb 91 First Edition pp 1-2

[Editorial: "With Responsibility to the People"]

[Text]**Firmly defending democratic gains, ensuring civic peace and nationwide accord in the country, preserving and renewing the Union, making Soviet people's life worthy of modern civilization—this is what the CPSU is striving for and seeking to achieve.**

The question of the current moment has not featured very often at the head of the agenda at our party forums. As a rule this has happened during particularly tense periods in the life of the party and the country and called for a precise political and moral choice and the adoption of crucial decisions brooking no delay. It was precisely awareness of this kind of responsibility determining the atmosphere at the joint plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and Central Control Commission that took place on the last day of January.

The plenum participants noted that the social crisis in the country has reached a dangerous point, beyond that destructive social upheavals are possible. Never before, the political statement "On the Current Moment and the Party's Tasks" emphasizes, has the need for new practical steps in the implementation of political and socioeconomic reforms been so pressing, never before has the internal discord in society been so threatening. Forces have aimed to change the social system in the USSR, removing the champions of the socialist option from power, and imposing an antisocialist and essentially antipeople character on our changing country. These forces have already emerged in the political arena and are seeking to unite.

Indeed, a block of several parties and currents describing themselves as "democratic" is being cobbled together literally before our eyes, parties and currents that have essentially tried to displace the CPSU from the political arena, splitting society into hostile camps, and bringing about the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Following the formula "the worse things are the better," they are making wide use of methods of political and moral terror and the blatant persecution and vilification of the legal institutes of power and of lawfully elected leaders. Appeals for noncompliance with laws, for strikes, and even for total civil disobedience are not subsiding.

All this is combining with the no less dangerous actions of the national-separatist forces that are seeking to pull the Union apart to form appanage principalities, to sow strife and discord, and to disrupt age-old international ties between peoples. A trend toward the establishment of totalitarian nationalist regimes has emerged that opened up the road toward lawlessness and proclaim the imaginary superiority of the rights of a specific nation over human and civil rights. The tragic events in a number of republics and regions, and the war of laws and sovereignties continuing unabated, are sad evidence of this.

Can the party of Soviet Communists on whose initiative the democratic political and socioeconomic transformations were initiated—something which its opponents prefer to pass over in silence today—look on indifferently at the destructive forces running riot, at the blatant violations of the Constitution and the laws of the country, and at the mounting threat to our social system and people's life and security? The January Joint Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and Central Control Commission confirmed convincingly yet again that it is our party bearing the historical responsibility for the success of the reforms conceived, and that it does not have the right to shirk this responsibility. **Creative labor while proceeding in the chosen direction has been and remains the Communists' paramount task.**

While a bitter political struggle is being foisted on the CPSU, the party is obliged to accept the challenge to restructure its work given the demands of the times. All its organizations and institutions and every Communist must do everything in their power to return the country to the path of peace and creative building, ensuring order, security, tranquillity, and normal working and living conditions for people irrespective of their national

allegiance and social position. "Civic peace and nationwide accord—this is what the country needs most at the moment," the plenum's Political Statement notes. "To achieve these is the most important political task." In their efforts to implement this task, party organizations are called upon to rely on the broad strata of the working people and to strengthen cooperation with trade union, youth, women's, veterans', and other associations.

It is clear to everyone that what people expect from the party today are above all specific actions for the good of the people, rather than mere words. Otherwise its prestige cannot be restored or stregthened. The active involvement of the CPSU in the processes of social life and the formation of a new economic, political, and spiritual environment will also accelerate the renewal of the party itself.

Now, when preparations for the nationwide referendum on the future of our Union as a federation of equal, sovereign soviet socialist republics are moving into the focus of our entire political life, Communists must not retreat, they must not try to sit it out in the trenches. It would be criminal and ruinous for our great country to entrust its future to those for whom, judging by their actions, the destiny of whole nations has become the subject of an unscrupulous game to satisfy their personal political ambitions. The plenum has invited Communists and all the country's citizens to express themselves in favor of the preservation of the USSR and its renewal as a union of genuinely independent republics and peoples. The CPSU's course toward building a rule-of-law state, toward ensuring profoundly democratic rule in the country, remains unchanged. In short, our party will continue to put people's interests and the transformation of society on a democratic basis first and foremost.

This also applies in equal measure to the solution of socioeconomic problems (mentioned by virtually all the speakers at the plenum). The CPSU must analyze in greater depth the processes taking place in this sphere and seek to influence them more actively. "We will not accept insinuations to the effect that party orgnaizations must depart from the sphere of economic activity," Ye. Chernyshov, first secretary of Perm Party Obkom [oblast committee], declared at the plenum. "If the CPSU sidesteps these problems during the current difficult times for the country, if it does not uphold the interests of the working people, it will simply become superfluous to them."

It can be expected that the January plenum will become a sort of turning point in the approach to these questions. It has not just clarified Communists' stances on problems of socioeconomic policy, it has also put forward a number of fundamentally new points for its practical implementation. The causes of the negative phenomena abounding in our economy today have been named with utmost candor. They include the impermissibly protracted reorganization of national economic management, serious mistakes in the implementation of reforms, imbalance between plans and material and technical supply, numerous interregional barriers disrupting established economic ties, and a decline of discipline and labor activeness.

Decisive measures, and sometimes even emergency measures, and strong party support are all the more important in restoring the country's normal labor rhythm. Meanwhile, plenum participants noted with concern, certain party organizations, misinterpreting the principle of the separation of functions, have "discharged" themselves from production concerns and adopted the position of onlookers. Life has demonstrated that this is an unsuitable position, it does not impart prestige to the Communists, and furthermore it multiplies the deficiencies in economic management.

The CPSU has clearly defined its attitude—and this was noted at the plenum more than once—toward the transition to market relations in the economy, viewing it as an effective means to enhance labor incentives and competitiveness and to do away with monopolism and leveling tendencies. Therefore the continual reproaches leveled at our party, claiming that it has renounced the market and continues to give preference to administrative methods of management, look all the more strange. It is another matter, of course, that the transition to the market is linked with the solution of a whole range of most complex problems demanding special attention. First and foremost is the question of reforming ownership. The party favors the equality of all types of ownership, while giving preference to collective forms of ownership. And while there is no reliable mechanism for the destatization of property, for privatization, this process must not be allowed to deteriorate into an uncontrolled sellout, into a carve-up of the people's assets.

The plenum urged party organizations to actively promote the restructuring of production relations and the establishment of a mixed economy in the countryside, and to assist the soviets in the implementation of the land reform. It is of utmost importance here to take account of both the opinion of the peasants themselves and of the specific characteristics of the various regions. The CPSU is opposed to any kind of coercion in respect of rural workers and to the destruction of efficiently functioning structures. Specifically speaking, a differentiated approach to collective farms is necessary. "One farm is not like another," R. Atadzhanov, chairman of an Uzbekistan kolkhoz and member of the CPSU Central Committee, rightly noted in his speech. "They cannot all be artifically measured with the same yardstick."

Something else is also obvious. The transition to market relations sometimes dictates the need for unpopular and even harsh measures in the economic sphere and in social policy. Who is not aware of this! Nonetheless, any move by the center in this direction meets with hostility from some people. Plenum participants interpreted this

as attempts to play an unscrupulous political game aimed at thwarting the transformations.

One of the Communists' priority concerns is to contribute to the creation of conditions for people's effective labor, the establishment of a reliable statewide system of social protection and of support for low-income strata of the population. For example, many workers in the construction sector may lose their jobs in the near future as a result of cutbacks in the volume of construction. Are we going to wait, plenum participants asked with concern, for the inevitable dissatisfaction of the workers to materialize, thus furnishing another pretext for accusations against the government and simultaneously also the CPSU? No, in cases like these party committees are obliged to propose measures to defuse the situation, to provide opportunities for retraining workers and their acquisition of new trades. Education through action is better than any empty appeal.

Cultural workers, the creative intelligentsia, and people working in newspapers, journals, radio, and television are also called upon to make their contribution to the stabilization of the political and economic situation in the country. The plenum exhorted them to switch from emotional assessments and subjective judgments to a thorough analysis of causes and consequences, to positive proposals, and to a display of experience. A high standard of propaganda professing a diversity of opinions and respect for the individual will undoubtedly be conducive to a constructive dialogue, mutual understanding between people, and a strengthening of discipline that not only is not at variance with the course toward democracy but, on the contrary, serves as a basis of success in all the transformations we have initiated.

In an atmosphere of hard-line political confrontation, the plenum participants stated, we must constantly explain to people the CPSU's objectives and the true nature of the processes taking place, and to enhance the party's educational functions. Experience has taught us that, having lost these functions, we run the risk of finding ourselves on the sidelines, of losing the initiative. Practical questions concerning the organizational-political strengthening of party organizations and safeguarding the unity of the CPSU's ranks also assume great importance. The main thing today is to enhance the efficiency of the party and of all its cells, to raise the Communists' standard of organization and discipline, and their responsibility for the fate of the people. A. Petrov, a fitters' team leader from Aktyubinsk, noted correctly in his letter to PRAVDA: "Our adversaries know that Communists are strong thanks to their cohesion. This is why they are taking direct aim at it."

After the 28th CPSU Congress adopted the new Statutes, a number of specific normative documents were drawn up. The plenum approved them and outlined practical measures aimed at further democratizing party life, renewing the style and methods of work of all the party's components, and ensuring the organizational-political strengthening of party organizations.

The Statutes and instructions that have been drawn up as a result of collective efforts rather than by the apparatus are in keeping with Lenin's demand for the consistent implementation of democratic centralism ensuring self-management in party life, a combination of the interests of the party and of individual Communists, the power of the party masses, and conscious discipline. It is not a question of the revival of the principle of "democentralism", disfigured under Stalinism and used to suppress dissident thought in the party, to stifle initiative, and to impose exclusivity. The one-dimensional dogmatic criterion is subject to an "iron" ban forever. It is a question of the rebirth of the fundamental principle of party building treasured by Vladimir Ilich not for its centralism but for its democratism. The plenum participants called on the country's Communists to display democratic unity as a result of conviction rather than coercion. Without grasping this fundamental point it is impossible for the CPSU to remain, in a multiparty system, a powerful political force capable of upholding the socialist choice of our society and defending the fundamental interests of the people.

Our party is going through a complex period. The negative processes that have developed not least as a result of the impact of antiparty and anti-Communist propaganda could not but affect its unity and combativeness. However, millions upon millions of Communists, having traveled the painful path of political self-determination, have remained loyal to the party. Against inflammatory appeals to leave the party ranks, and the almost hysterical predictions of the so-called left-wing radical press, most party organizations have traversed with dignity the path of the inevitable ditching of ballast and have retained their militancy. The foundations of the party, its roots, proved healthy and strong. It remains the biggest mass political organization and enjoys the support of the people.

This is also borne out by the PRAVDA mailbag. Numerous letters and cables and collective messages contain reports about party organizations gaining in confidence and beginning to work in a creative key. G. Dernova from Protvino in Moscow Oblast reports, for example, that Communists have set up their first city party organization in this young scientific city. The gorkom [city committee] apparatus comprises only six to seven full-time staff. On the other hand, it includes all primary party organization secretaries who head the activities of the gorkom.

Nonetheless, by no means everywhere have party organizations gotten over the shock, as it were, inflicted by justified and unjustified criticism. The situation in a number of primary party organizations is cause for alarm. It is necessary to help them gain confidence in their strength, assist them in decisively rebutting false accusations and attacks on the CPSU, make a greater effort to point party organizations toward the vital issues in the life of society, establish collaboration between all party structures, strengthen discipline, and master new political approaches. The plenum made a principled

assessment of all dangerous attempts to drive a wedge between the party center and CPSU organizations at local level, between the party center and union republic communist parties.

The heated debate at the plenum, and the examples from life cited by its participants, show convincingly that primary party organizations are becoming one of the main targets in the struggle of the destructive, extremist forces against the CPSU. It is into these organizations that ideas of freezing membership dues, dividing up party property, abolishing the party apparatus, and bringing about depolitization and departyization are being infiltrated. Unfortunately, here and there these ideas have fallen on fertile ground. There are also people in the party who proceed from positions that are essentially alien to the party and who openly speak about their hopes that the CPSU will disintegrate. The time has come, it was noted at the plenum, to put an end to the interminably anarchic approach to party procedures and to firmly establish in practice what has been given legal status in its Statutes.

Raykoms [rayon committees] and gorkoms, many of whom have demonstrated their resiliance and combativeness during the most crucial period, must start working more actively. We must revive the principles of voluntary work more boldly and develop thsee forms of collaboration between primary CPSU organization secretaries that have proved worthwhile.

The Communists' political aims are clear and noble. We back the demand of the people that order, security, and tranquillity be established and normal working and living conditions be assured for people irrespective of their national allegiance and social position. We cherish the best traditions of the internationalism and friendship of the peoples and all the democratic gains of perestroyka, we treasure civic peace and nationwide accord. It is precisely for these aims that the Communists of the Land of the Soviet are working today.

Nationalities Policy Panel Meets

PM0302143791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Feb 91 Second Edition p 3

[Report by V. Shirokov: "In Favor of Dialogue and Cooperation"]

[Text] A session of the CPSU Central Committee Nationalities Policy Commission was held yesterday. The session was chaired by A. Girenko, CPSU Central Committee secretary and commission chairman.

The nationalities section of the future program of the country's Communist Party is rightly exercising the minds of rank-and-file communists, professional party officials, social scientists, and politologists—in short, of everyone who is vitally interested in interethnic peace and accord and in normal and civilized relations in our multinational home.

The discussion devoted to the concept of one of the program's fundamental sections was extremely interesting and profound, although it is of course impossible to resolve overnight, as they say, the whole range of problems that have taken shape in interethnic relations. Especially since in recent times they have been growing and multiplying dynamically.

However that may be, there was a constructive and fruitful exchange of opinions on the strengthening and development of a renewed union of socialist soviet sovereign republics. In conditions of the transition to the market it is necessary to take account of the specific characteristics of each republic and every region and of their far from equal "starting conditions." Furthermore, the interests of millions upon millions of people who live outside their national-territorial entities, or do not even have such entities, deserve close party attention and the elaboration of fundamental theoretical guidelines [posyl].

The new, nonstandard approaches put forward at the commission's session require analytical and creative development.

The commission members' suggestions and proposals will be taken into account during the further elaboration of the CPSU program.

Communists Urged To Counter 'Slander'

PM0402143791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
29 Jan 91 Second Edition p 4

[Article by Yevgeniy Sorokin, RSFSR honored cultural worker: "How Long Are We To Bear the Abuse and Slander; Who Benefits From the 'Enemy' Image of the Communists?"]

[Text] I flick through the newspapers every day not only with curiosity but also alarm. A great deal alarms me: Like a trip down a bumpy road, our life is shaking and flinging us from side to side. Of late half-page newspaper articles with people try to sling mud at me have aroused particular alarm. Let me clarify: The putrid filth is not meant for me personally. It is being administered to the CPSU—I have been a member for almost 35 years—and consequently to me. That at any rate is how I see it. Although I do not rule out the possibility of my copping an individual dose after this article.

Let me be blunt and say that I have no intention of suffering in silence. I am surprised by the Olympian tranquillity or even indifference many Communists, particularly within the party apparatus, view the abuse and slander of the party. You don't know what to think: They're either confused or frightened, waiting for everything to come out right on its own. I cannot under any circumstances put up with the feeling of doom that can constantly be heard in conversation and even appears in the press. Why should we in fact endure the brazen abuse?

There is no justification for many party committees' waiting-game tactics, that under current conditions will inevitably weaken the party's influence among the masses. The daring "patrons of the people" are telling some committees submissively ceding one position after another to leave enterprises and institutions. On what grounds? Perhaps they are expressing the collective's opinion? Often they are not even interested in that opinion. The main thing is to raise a hullabaloo and deal a cutting blow. When matters do indeed reach the labor collective, it turns out that it has different ideas: It is the Communists that you can really rely on if it's a matter of working people's pressing concerns.

It's sad that some press organs are also trying to persuade us that mentioning Communist ideals and the CPSU's great potential is virtually a sign of backwardness and conservatism today.

So, the new ROSSIYA confidingly reports that "our homeland's liberation from the bloody yoke under which it has suffered for more than 70 years has already dawned on the horizon." Who is the prophet? The great prince Vladimir Kirillovich, the surviving remnant of the all-Russian autocrat dynasty, who now claims "His Majesty's" throne. No more, no less. While another newspaper associated with the former mockingly echoes: "As is well-known, the Communists in our country will never give up or give in."

Attempting come what may to discredit the Communist Party and its representatives in the soviets, some ill-wishers are devising quite incredible means of just humiliating "the enemy" and showing themselves in a favorable light. There are even references to "scientific" data. So, with the help of their voters' club at the USSR Academy of Sciences, members of "Democratic Russia" have devised a "political temperature coefficient" and they are also trying to gauge the situation at local level in various regions of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. No matter that democrats are not regarded favorably in many major regions, to make up for it they allegedly have a higher temperature "as a whole." How these people keep account is a matter for their conscience. But this kind of attempt to cause deputies to clash and put them on different sides of artificial barricades is bound to worry any unbiased person.

When launching constructive work, Communists must bear in mind that one of the favorite methods employed by all the people's false friends is to set the true defenders of the people's interests against one another. For instance, their attempt to "divide" the Russian Communist Party Politburo counts for a lot. They have already succeeded in "sorting" its members into left-wingers and right-wingers and have even published this conjecture in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI. It's not important that any sensible person will recoil from this news in mistrust—there is the feeble hope that someone will make the connection, one person will tell another, and there will be a fresh rumor doing the rounds.

New press organs that immediately declare themselves infallible and entitled to lecture other people in public are emerging in the lively public arena like mushrooms after rain. Some describe themselves as "independent," others as "popular," but they are often essentially the same—anticommunist. With the zeal of junior clerks, their staffers are really vying with another in fanning anticommunist hysteria. For instance, since it first came out the Moscow Soviet weekly KURSANTY has concentrated on this topic; some writers do not even balk at personally insulting their political adversaries, moreover.

To be fair, I must admit that you cannot deny that the anticommunists are employing some fairly inventive tactics. First they try to flush out and neutralize waverers and doubters. This has proved most successful during the period prior to elections of party organizations' leaders: It is more obvious then who are behaving as themselves. They then sever the "conservatives" and begin, as one zealous author said, to "break" the party apparatchiks. It turns out that they exploit the roll-call voting by, say, RSFSR Supreme Soviet deputies. Namely: A strict tally is kept on how deputies voted. Extensive use is subsequently made of these figures to "unmask" undesirables and an unimaginable din is raised in their electoral okrugs if they voted "the wrong way."

A contemptuous nickname for their adversaries—national patriots—is in vogue among left-wing liberals and their press organs. Where is their refuge? In the Russian Communist Party.

Pluralism... How it has been eulogized from various platforms. And nothing but. But when this pluralism is not in the democrats' favor, they immediately start to bad-mouth it. Doctor of Sciences L. Shevtsova, who has recently acted as the democrats' ideologue, complains: "In conditions of chaotic pluralism power may be usurped by a force that possesses organization, funds, and skill. Can you guess which? A naive question, of course; we can guess... It immediately becomes clear why some "CPSU members" are so zealously opposed to the Communist Party's vanguard role and are trying to drive it onto the fringes of political life or even into an impasse.

It looks as though some people have this idea of democracy: I'll do what I want. You can present black as white and your own ambitious intentions as the wishes of all but the whole people.

By the nature of my work, I have an opportunity every day to watch the parliamentary "cauldron"—seething, bubbling, and "letting off steam" before a new law is born. This is a complex process, and sometimes it is not quite the result that working people want that is achieved. Who is to blame for this? It is easiest to blame an "uncle." But I would reproach my "brother" Communist. People who elected Communist deputies rely on

them primarily and hope that they will vigorously defend their interests. But is that always the case?

Ten different party groups, factions, and associations were officially registered among the people's deputies represented within the USSR Supreme Soviet. Some of then, even the small groups, have shown themselves to be extremely active both at plenary sittings and particularly in the work of standing committees and commissions. What can be said of the Communists? They represent the largest group (more than half the entire Supreme Soviet), but perhaps the least active. I am frequently struck by some kind of lack of vitality or impotence. The interregional group or the social democrats operate insistently and sometimes stop at nothing when upholding their views and opinions in concert. Communists most frequently skulk off sluggishly in various directions as if ashamed or afraid of something. Of what? Perhaps, there is a quite commonplace explanation for this: Is it simply that not everyone is able to endure the indiscriminate intimidation and anticommunist indoctrination? After all there is a reason people say: If you can't stand the heat, stay out of the kitchen.

Moreover, there has, perhaps, been pleasant news of late. During the discussion of the draft law on public associations, Communists stated and vigorously upheld their position with the utmost certainty. Communists also proved themselves to be far more organized than before at the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies. But we cannot be reassured by this.

In my view, Communist deputies are by no means making full use of their potential within the Supreme Soviet. They are looking over their shoulder at times where confidence, vigorous actions, and an ability to uphold their fundamental positions are needed. Of course, we must not oversimplify matters. Reasonable compromise is one of the postulates for successful work by the parliament. It is precisely a matter of compromise and consolidation rather than appeasement. Everyone who really cares about the people's happiness—rather than just paying lip service to the idea—must pool their efforts. Communists certainly never push anyone aside, as other groups are doing. This also has its plus side. But the constant striving to keep "out of the fight" is hardly productive. Is it not time to join forces against those who are preparing to switch perestroyka from the socialist to the capitalist path and who are trying for their own selfish and ambitious purposes to establish their own dictatorship on the plea of depoliticization and departyization?

We have all recently witnessed the unbridled campaign against Communists within the government and its head. But the government has been reorganized. On the decision of the USSR Congress of USSR People's Deputies the Cabinet of Ministers has been formed under the President's direct jurisdiction. Give the government a chance to work normally. No! The "democrats" oppose once again. Communists are blamed once again. The form of the demands and the means used to discredit the Communists are surprising. No one disputes their right to voice no confidence in the union government. But the head of the Moscow Soviet, G. Popov, has deemed this right insufficiently effective and has decided to head a large demonstration adorned with such "flowery" slogans that it is embarrassing to repeat them here. At the noisy rally inveterate speakers, including the municipal leader himself, subsequently had a ball in an equally colorful fashion. His first deputy, S. Stankevich, repeated this "feint" 20 January. I have not heard or read of such enterprising mayors and their deputies among the former communists in neighboring countries.

G. Popov sometimes seems, in his fury, to be blatantly aspiring to Herostratos' laurels. In the wake of the affected pamphlet entitled "What is to be Done?" distorted a great deal, he recently said in an "independent" newspaper: "We have not finished the fight against the CPSU's monopoly on power. When demanding and abolishing the CPSU's monopoly, we should also have immediately abolished the parliament." There it is pure and simple, no beating about the bush. What next?

Here's what next: ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA called for a trial of the CPSU. What's more, the Moscow Soviet recently officially registered the "Committee in Support of a Public Trial of the CPSU." Alas, USSR People's Deputies S. Sulakshin, N. Sazonov, Yu. Vlasov, O. Kalugin, and a number of other "frenzied zealots" were among its founders. They are in a hurry. It is announced that a preliminary study of the material allegedly revealed clear analogies insofar as party structure is concerned between the party organization of Hitler's Germany and the party organization of the "indissoluble Union of free republics" [first line of USSR anthem].

All this has been said in deadly earnest, without a shadow of doubt. That is, it is a matter of practical persecution of Communists, on whom all accusations are being pinned. That is the mark of the "democrats" who are dying for power at any price. It's terrifying to think what will happen if their perfidious plan is realized even if only in part. You wonder: How long will the Communists sit idle, indifferent to good and evil?

Why should we be silent when Communists are being charged with a reactionary conspiracy and right-wing coup? Can we really fail to see that some forces are trying to remove first the CPSU Central Committee general secretary and then the President to put their own man in his place. This man is well known, and he has been operating in the open of late—he is B.N. Yeltsin.

The present generations of Communists have drawn the difficult lot of restoring the socialist idea's true meaning and proving its practical feasibility. We assert that panhuman values should take center stage. But do the socialist option and the Communist ideal contravene these values? Every Communist has to uphold the ideas of the party and the ideas of October and defend socialist ideals and panhuman values in a bold and principled manner.

Academician on Aspects of CPSU Plenum

LD3101202291 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 31 Jan 91

[Text] We would like to remind you that the joint plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the CPSU took place in Moscow today. Our correspondent Vladimir Korablev spoke to a participant in the Central Committee plenum Yuriy Nikolayevich Pakhomov, academician secretary of the economics department of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and member of the CPSU Central Committee. Here is the recording of their conversation.

[Begin recording] [Korablev] Yuriy Nikolayevich, what did the participants in the plenum of the Central Committee pay special attention to during the debate on the main report?

[Pakhomov] I think that the stress was laid on the right place, on the extensive and rather full-blooded report delivered by Vladimir Antonovich. But I was not satisfied with one of the aspects of this report. And the same emphasis, actually, was found in the speeches of other participants.

This is the traditional approach acquired by the party—we should, at last, switch from a defensive to an offensive approach. I think that it is time to stop declaring things and to seriously think, why does the party not take an offensive attitude? I am convinced that the offensive cannot be accomplished only by appeals for some intensification of political activity, and that there should be a constructive aspect here, and such an aspect that could bring in, what I would call, the wind of history.

We must take into account the fact that the situation is not stable and that we, probably, will not be able to stabilize the situation in the near future, and that we should look for constructive measures within the framework of such—I would say—massive insubordination or, I would even say, political chaos. Nobody is looking for such measures. That is why talk about the political moment and a kind of stabilization, without the search for such measures on a large scale, is the talk of people who have good intentions but nothing else.

[Korablev] Yuriy Nikolayevich, you said that the party should go on the offensive, stop being in a defensive position, and take up an offensive attitude. But, let us say, if the party takes up an offensive attitude, will it not create confrontation with other democratic forces that are now gaining a more and more significant role in the life of our society.

[Pakhomov] In the first place, by saying "take up an offensive attitude" I did not mean confrontation. Far from it. If one speaks of the political side of the issue, the party should confidently defend the ideals of socialism. But that is not what it is doing. The ideals of socialism are finding their way through in all parts of the world. And the more developed a country is, the more successfully are the ideals of socialism implemented there.

We should clearly state that straightforward full-blown implementation of the ideals of socialism is not feasible today. That is, we should simply tell the truth—that we should go along a complex path, from a mixed economy to the further development of the ideals of socialism. That is, we should defend the ideals of our society in a flexible way, taking into account the fact that we once tried to jump over the stages of history and now history is holding us back. And we must go along this difficult path. We are, actually, not talking about all the difficulties of such a path.

[Korablev] Well, was this discussed at the plenum today or was it not, or was this left outside the framework of the discussions?

[Pakhomov] Unfortunately, in my opinion, this issue was discussed only as an issue of today, whereas it should really be discussed in the context of a large-scale strategy: social, socio-economic and socio-political. [end recording]

Gorbachev Promotes Pugo to Colonel General

LD0402114791 Moscow TASS in English 1141 GMT 4 Feb 91

[Text] Moscow February 4 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev today promoted Soviet Interior Minister Boris Pugo to colonel general.

Komissarov's Moscow Suspended, Bogdanov Restored

LD0402205191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 4 Feb 91

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] At the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs: Having examined the decision of the second session of the Moscow City Soviet of People's Deputies of 23 January 1991 on the appointment of Komissarov to the post of chief of the main Directorate of Internal Affairs of the Moscow City Executive Committee, the Collegium of the MVD has resolved to note that this decision was adopted in violation of established procedure and without coordination with the USSR MVD.

Guided by the USSR president's decree of 23 January 1991 on improving the governing of the City of Moscow, the Collegium of the MVD suspends the settlement of the Bogdanov's release, who is simultaneously deputy minister of Internal Affairs of the USSR, from his post as chief of the Main Directorate of Internal Affairs of the Moscow City Executive Committee, and the appointment of Komissarov to the post of chief of the Main Directorate of Internal Affairs of the Moscow City Executive Comittee until the adoption of the USSR law on the status of the City of Moscow, the capital of the USSR and of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, on the basis of which subordination and the

procedure for appointing the chief of the Main Directorate of Internal Affairs of the Moscow City Executive Committee will be established.

In accordance with existing legislation, the Collegium has entrusted Lieutenant General Bogdanov with continuing to carry out his official duties in leading the internal affairs bodies of the City of Moscow. The Collegium appeals to the staff of the Red Banner Moscow Militia to demonstrate in this situation a high degree of awareness, unity, and good organization, and to prevent a weakening in public order and the fight against crime in the city.

Tarasov Interviewed on KGB 'Witch-hunt'

LD0102154691

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1230 GMT on 1 February broadcasts a 9-minute interview with Artem Mikhaylovich Tarasov, people's deputy of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] and vice president of the USSR Union of Cooperative Workers, by correspondent Andrey Zuyev.

The program begins with Zuyev noting that the economic forecast made by Tarasov at the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, although was not shown on television, was perceived by Gorbachev as deeply offensive, and today a statement was issued to the effect that, unless Tarasov apologizes, the case will be referred to the court. In reply, Tarasov advocates the right of any economist to make forecasts, however unpleasant for some people. He says he did not mean to be offensive and, although disagreeing with Gorbachev's stance, he is prepared to apologize to Gorbachev. He goes on to speak about his disappointment in Gorbachev's current economic policies that seem to be directed against market relations.

Zuyev mentions that "At today's session, Ivan Stepanovich Silayev said that the KGB has started a witch-hunt for the Russian Government. Judging by your problems, the hunt is underway—and not only for them."

Tarasov replies: "I have to agree with this view of our prime minister. I have in mind not only Filshin's case [the recent seizure of ruble-dollar exchange documents at Sheremetyevo Airport] but also the latest case involving myself. Our Istok foreign-economic association carries out governmental orders. Specifically, we are working on the Urozhay governmental program supervised by Ivan Stepanovich Silayev personally. Today an attempt is being made to link our association with an incident in Vilnius. A group of racketeers was apprehended there. A member of this group is a former employee of our department at Sheremetyevo Airport—incidentally, 150 people are employed there, and he was from there. Now this fact is being interpreted in such a way as to shift responsibility on to the Istok association and, naturally, on the government, eventually. This is a fact but, truly, it is very terrifying that such measures should be taken."

Tarasov goes on to praise the Russian parliament and its economic policy that encounters many obstacles from the center, he says. "Something may emerge tomorrow, something like a decree banning privatization—it is again my forecast, maybe such a decree is not being prepared but it can happen—or some other unexpected decrees not backed by a market economy." Russia is too powerless to be the master of the situation and its own future, he adds.

Zuyev then says: "Artem Mikhaylovich, your speech at the session today, where you spoke about the arrest of members of your staff without any sanctions, caused, frankly speaking, a storm in the audience because of your evaluation of communists."

Tarasov replies: "That was not an evaluation of communists as such. I spoke about the communists who will, and wish to, carry out a search in my office. My evaluation related only to them. These are grave events, indeed. The arrests were carried out without sanctions, although (Yegorov) [not further identified] says such sanctions exist. My staff were arrested directly at their homes. They are breaking into other apartments, too. I think this topic will be duly covered yet. I would not like to speak about it today, but I am not guilty of anything. I am not afraid of any checks, provided they are legal, with independent witnesses, and not in the form of night visits and attempts at getting into my office at night committed by the Moscow Criminal Investigation staff."

Yanayev on Failure of Social, Economic Goals

[Quotation marks as received]

LD3101205691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1850 GMT 31 Jan 91

[Text] Moscow, 31 Jan (TASS)—"Besides the democratization of society and the progress in our foreign course of new political thinking, we have in fact realized not one of our ambitious aims in five years of perestroyka. The absolute majority of social and economic objectives have been messed up," USSR Vice President Gennadiy Yanayev has said. "We need order like oxygen, so that people gain confidence in tomorrow," he stated in an interview published in the latest edition of the weekly GLASNOST. We are striving for order, to develop the democratic processes, he stresses in the interview. "We want order in production, making it possible to restore dislocated economic links, so that everyone is fed, saved from the degrading act of standing in lines, is not afraid to go out on the street—after all, the crime situation is appalling!—and so that interethnic strife is resolved to everyone's benefit."

Gennadiy Yanayev says that Mikhail Gorbachev's conjunction of the posts of general secretary and president is "a boon both for the party and for the state." "The president needs the CPSU, because it is the only powerful party that not only possesses a realistic program but also has the confidence of the people and which, having

reeled noticeably, is now being restored," he said. "And the party needs the president."

"But I want to talk about something else: The party is alive not because Gorbachev is the Central Committee general secretary, Yanayev emphasizes. If he ceases to be such, there will be a new leader. But the ideas and objectives of the party, if they are liberated from those distortions that have existed at various stages of our history, will live on."

The vice president expressed complete disagreement with Boris Yeltsin's statement that the country's course is supposedly changing toward command-administrative procedures in the economy, and a unitarian state in politics. "This statement is the fruit of the policy Boris Yeltsin has been pursuing for what is already a lengthy period of time, Yanayev said. Its essence is that everything the Center does is bad, and everything Russia does is good. It is unworthy of a politician to employ such methods to realize his own political ambitions on their basis."

Speaking about the situation in the Baltics, the vice president noted that "the sooner these republics' supreme soviets realize that they must abrogate the anticonstitutional decisions that infringe on the rights of citizens and social or ethnic groups of the population, the sooner we can reach a political solution." Commenting on the calls of certain politologists to cut the dimensions of international aid to the USSR because of events in the Baltics, Gennadiy Yanayev emphasizes that "any attempts to talk to the Soviet Union—a great power, albeit experiencing great difficulties—with the language of a diktat are without future. I do not think this is the best form of international relations—attempting to exert economic or any other type of pressure because of problems that have arisen, problems that are the domestic affair of the USSR."

Cabinet of Ministers Discusses Chemical Issues

LD0502144191 Moscow TASS in English 1429 GMT 5 Feb 91

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow February 6 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev today met Soviet Premier Valentin Pavlov and members of the new cabinet to discuss the situation in the country's chemical and timber industries. This is the third such meeting since the creation of the new cabinet subordinated to the president. The previous two meetings were devoted to the oil and gas complex and the coal extracting industry.

Abalkin Briefs Journalists on Privatization Plans

LD0502225891 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 5 Feb 91

[Text] The draft fundamentals of the legislation of the USSR and the Union republics on taking things out of state control and on privatization have been drawn up by the country's government. Here are details, in the account of our correspondent Valeriy Kiosa.

[Kiosa] Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin acquainted journalists with the main clauses in this document. In his words, the process of taking things out of state control and privatization has already started in our country but is, so far, of an elemental and wild nature, fraught with serious danger for our economy. Therefore this process requires above all a serious law-based foundation, that should be served by the said bill. It should especially be stressed that it could be implemented only in tough linkage with the legislative acts on entrepreneurship and demonopolization of the economy. All three bills, according to Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin, are now ready.

So what are the main clauses of the Bill as submitted to journalists? As is known, of late there has been a very stormy discussion on how we should carry out taking things out of state control and into privatization. There were three points of view:

1. To transfer property free of charge to the members of the labor collective.

2. To distribute it free of charge, once more, to all citizens of the USSR.

Or—this is the third alternative—sell it.

Each of these alternatives has its pluses and its minuses but, after weighing up the pros and cons, the drafters of this bill chose the third option—that is, selling, ensuring, in their opinion, a fundamentally new attitude to property. They do thereby retain certain benefits for the members of the labor collectives, such as free transfer to them of the property of sociocultural facilities, or the sale of shares at special prices or by installments. What forms does the proposed process of privatiation take? This would be the transformation of the enterprise into a joint-stock society, the buying up of its property by the lease-holding enterprise or by the rank and file members of the collective, or the sale of a state enterprise at auction or by tender. And finally, who can become the owner of the property? In the bill it states that these shall be citizens of the USSR, juridical persons of our country, and foreign juridical persons and citizens.

Naturally, just as before, there are still many questions. For example, who will carry out the whole of this process? Frequently referred to in the bill is the fund of State Property. However, it still does not exist in our country. You see, it is precisely that which should draw up both the program for privatization and for taking things out of state control, and many other normative acts, in particular such fundamentally important ones as methods for assessing state property. In a word, there are still very many more questions. This document will, however, be widely discussed both in the country's Supreme Soviet and, I hope, in the mass media. Therefore we can repeatedly return to it.

Well, yet another issue that probably interests many of you at the present time: in what capacity did Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin invite the journalists? He replied to his question in the following manner. For the moment, he is acting deputy head of the government, but he asked not to be regarded as a candidate member of a future Cabinet of Ministers of the country. In his opinion, he does not have the moral right to head this sector of work because, when he was appointed deputy head of the government, he made the following statement: We have only 15 months to correct the situation, and if we do not succeed, the government should resign. There was, in the opinion of Leonid Ivanovich, a chance of getting the country out of the crisis, but it was not taken, and therefore he cannot and does not have the moral right to make a claim to continuing to work in this capacity.

Well, one can assess the work of Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin in that post in different ways, but the action that he is taking now is nevertheless worthy of all respect. It is the act of a person who knows how to keep his word—the action of a person whose potential was, in my view, never used in full and due measure.

Lukyanov, Silayev Address TASS Seminar

LD0102142391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1322 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] Moscow, 1 Feb (TASS)—The work of the telegraph agency in new conditions taking into account the market that is coming about and free competition among the media, and the development of the democratic principles of information work were the main topics of the all-union seminar-meeting of TASS's own correspondents ending today.

The leaders of the republican information agencies took part in the seminar. Problems of creative and economic relations in the dissemination of information were discussed with them.

Anatoliy Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet; Aleksandr Dzasokhov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Ivan Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers; Army General Mikhail Moiseyev, first deputy defense minister of the USSR and chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces; and Ivan Zubkov, acting chairman of the Board of the USSR Union of Journalists, spoke to the participants in the seminar.

TASS journalists also had a meeting with representatives of the editorial office of central newspapers and exchanged views on the topical problems of working together.

Collective Protests Golembiovskiy Decision

PM0302194191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Feb 91 Union Edition p 8

[Unattributed report: "Meeting at IZVESTIYA"]

[Text] In recent days readers have been calling IZVESTIYA and cables have been arriving asking about the decision to relieve I. Golembiovskiy of his post as first deputy chief editor of IZVESTIYA being prepared at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

It is true that I. Golembiovskiy was summoned 29 January by A. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and offered a post as IZVESTIYA correspondent in a foreign country in accordance with a request from N. Yefimov, IZVESTIYA chief editor.

A meeting of the collective of IZVESTIYA and the weeklies NEDELYA and SOYUZ was held 30 January to discuss the situation which had taken shape.

The meeting deemed the release of I. Golembiovskiy from the post of first deputy chief editor unacceptable to the editorial collective and contrary to the interests of perestroyka, and came out in favor of the withdrawal of this decision. It was emphasized that I. Golembiovskiy enjoys great and deserved prestige among the editorial collective.

A resolution was dispatched by the IZVESTIYA collective meeting to M. Gorbachev, USSR president; A. Lukyanov, USSR Supreme Soviet chairman; A. Laptev and R. Nishanov, leaders of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers; and V. Foteyev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Glasnost and Citizens' Rights and Appeals Committee.

Soyuz Leader Alksnis on Gorbachev, Baltics

OW0102143391 Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese 1222 GMT 1 Feb 91

["Exclusive" interview with Colonel Viktor Alksnis, leader of the conservative Soyuz in the Congress of People's Deputies, by NHK Moscow Bureau reporter Kobayashi in Moscow on 31 January—recorded, in Russian with superimposed translation into Japanese; from "NHK News 21" program]

[Text] [Alksnis] Many Soviet citizens have been deceived by President Gorbachev. He became president after promising that he will guarantee the people's constitutional rights. In reality, however, the people are racially discriminated. The president is not trying to take any measures. For example, in Latvia, key posts in the republic government are held only by Latvians. A republic government formed only by Latvians emerged in Latvia for the first time in the past 50 years. In fact, Latvians account for only half of the population in the republic and other nationalities are excluded from politics and cannot participate in making decisions on various problems facing the republic. This is clearly racial discrimination. What is taking place now in the Baltics is totally inconsistent with democracy. I am not seeking power and something like that. I think that a national salvation committee should be created. But, I do not want to create a committee like those illegal committees in Latvia and Lithuania. I want to created a

national salvation committee according to the Constitution. The committee will be created in the Congress of People's Deputies. No political groups have the right to found the committee, but only the Congress of People's Deputies can create the committee under the Constitution. Therefore, now is the time for us to take procedures for the creation of the committee by amending the Constitution.

[Kobayashi] Do you mean staging a coup?

[Alksnis] [Laughing] That is nothing but a rumor. I have no intention of staging any coup.

[Kobayashi] How did you force former Foreign Minister Sheavardnadze and Internal Affairs Minister Bakatin to resign?

[Alksnis] Why do you say that I forced them to step down? I have no authority to make any cabinet member resign.

[Kobayashi] Did President Gorbachev have prior knowledge of the military crackdown in the Baltics?

[Alksnis] Local officials were in command of the crackdown. However, the president certainly knew about it.

[Kobayashi] What about the incident in Lithuania?

[Alksnis] We have no evidence. However, all presidents know what is happening in their countries.

'Dangerous Criminal Group' Seized; 10 Arrested

LD0102200191 Moscow TASS in English 1905 GMT 1 Feb 91

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Borisov]

[Text] Moscow February 1 TASS—A dangerous criminal group has been seized in Soviet Union by employees of the Inter-regional Department for Combating Organised Crime and the Soviet Interior Ministry's Main Criminal Investigation Department.

The investigation has proven that the group committed over 30 crimes in Omsk, Moscow, Sochi, Kokchetav, Tselinograd and Pavlodar, including murders, robbery, plundering. It was also stealing cars, arms and ammunition and goods from citizens' flats. The group was involved in drug trafficking, Main Criminal Investigation Department Deputy Head Gennadiy Chebotarev told TASS.

Ten criminals have already been arrested, four of them had previous convictions and were proclaimed wanted on a national scale. Their accomplices are being searched for, he said.

According to Chebotarev, the list of crimes is far from final. He said investigation bodies are verifying data about their possible involvement in other dangerous crimes.

Chebotarev recalled that over 243,000 crimes committed by groups were registered in the Soviet Union in 1990. The rate of such crimes grew in ten Union republics, he said.

Scientific

Salyut-7 To Fall 6-7 Feb; Little Damage Expected

LD0502151591 Moscow TASS in English 1449 GMT 5 Feb 91

[By TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova]

[Text] Moscow February 5 TASS—Soviet flight control centre officials told TASS that the apogee of the descending Salyut-7- Cosmos-1686 space complex was 190 kilometers and the perigee—176 kilometers, today at 15:30 Moscow time.

Specialists believe the station will most propably fall to earth between 20:00 on February 6 and 24:00 on February 7 Moscow time.

Representative of the Air Defence Forces Mikhail Shpitalnik told TASS that the complex had been closely followed since it was put into orbit. All radar facilities will be switched on at the flight's final stage.

Soviet Deputy Minister of General Machine-building Yuriy Koptev noted that many booster rockets and spacecraft end their orbital flights by falling back to earth every year. Although the complex weighs about 40 tonnes, only the descent capsule, a part of the cosmos-1686 satellite, may cause harm.

The capsule's weight at touchdown may vary between 1.2 and two tonnes, depending on its re-entry burn-up. The most probable area of impact can be calculated several revolutions before re-entry.

According to specialists, the fragments will not inflict much damage. Researchers have calculated that about 250 fragments would fall to earth. Each of them will weigh several kilograms.

The Soviet side intends to inform the public regularly about the flight's final stage and has expressed readiness to exchange information about the main parameters of the complex's flight with competent organisations in other countries.

The flight control centre was entrusted to exchange information with appropriate organisations in other countries. The Salyut-7 station put into orbit in April 1982 was the last one in the series of the second generation spacecraft. According to specialists, it could have operated for several more years. But solar activity suddenly increased in 1988, and the station began sharply to descend.

Researchers decided that it was inexpedient to reactivate the complex.

Team Formed To Monitor Descent

LD0402094391 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 4 Feb 91

[Text] Beginning today, an operations group will start a 24-hour watch at the space control center on the descent of the 40-tonne Salyut-7-Cosmos-1686 space complex. Space ballistics specialists, mathematicians, and flight controllers, with the aid of measuring instruments of the Air Defense Forces, must ensure that they do not make any miscalculations in their forecasts. The complex has been monitored since its launch on 19 April 1982.

According to calculations, the space vehicles will cease to exist on 6 or 7 February. The time frame may vary depending on the conditions of the upper payers of the atmosphere. The descent orbit can be calculated the day before the ground, having passed through the burning-out level of the atmosphere. What is of some comfort is that the area on which the fragments will fall is vast. The form of destruction of the space vehicles will depend on its height above the Earth's surface—at the height of 100 kilometers it will disintegrate into 9,000 fragments; at the height of 80 kilometers into 4,000 fragments.

Cosmos-2123 Satellite Launched 5 Feb

LD0502130191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1210 GMT 5 Feb 91

[Text] Moscow, 5 Feb (TASS)—Another artificial earth satellite, Cosmos-2123, was launched in the Soviet Union by a Cosmos rocket carrier.

The satellite will carry out work as part of the space navigation system created with the aim of determining the location of the USSR naval and fishing fleet vessels at any point on the world's oceans.

The satellite is placed in an orbit with the following parameters: Initial period of revolution, 104.9 mins; apogee, 1019 kilometers; perigee, 981 kilometers; orbital inclination, 82.9 degrees.

The apparatus on board the satellite is working normally.

The coordinating and computing center is processing the incoming information.

Yazov Denies Radioactive Waste at Sominka

LD0502143591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1331 GMT 5 Feb 91

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Troyanovskiy]

[Text] Novgorod, 5 Feb (TASS)—"The burial and storage of radioactive waste and of waste of chemical and bacteriological production, by subunits of the USSR Ministry of Defense, at the Sominka halt, Khvoyninskiy Rayon, Novgorod Oblast, has not been carried out and is not being carried out at the present time." One would like to hope that such a categorical answer by Dmitriy Yazov, USSR minister of defense and marshal of the soviet union, to a question by Vladimir Averkin, a USSR People's Deputy from Novgorod Oblast, would reassure the local population. Especially as it was corroborated by the conclusions of the commision made up of deputies from rayon and rural soviets and specialists. The research undertaken by them has shown that the concentration of radioactive elements in the air and soil in the region of the Sominka halt corresponds to normal background level.

A topic from the "600 Seconds" television program, communicated to millions of television viewers, about radioactive waste being stored in a sand quarry in Sominka was the reason for villagers' alarm and the deputy's question. A sensation, fortunately, did not occur. But an intelligible answer from its author—the television journalist Aleksandr Nevzorov—has not yet been successfully recieved.

French Prepare for Joint Flight in 1992

LD3101190491 Moscow TASS in English 1830 GMT 31 Jan 91

[By TASS correspondent Rena Kuznetsova]

[Text] Moscow January 31 TASS—Two French pilots Michel Tognini and Jean-Pierre Haignere have begun pre-launch training at the cosmonauts' training centre near Moscow.

Tognini is well known in France and the Soviet Union. He was a backup pilot of French astronaut Jean-Loup Chretien during the second Soviet-French joint space flight in 1988. Haignere is taking part in the Soviet-French international programme of manned flights for the first time.

One of the two Frenchmen will travel into space together with Soviet cosmonauts in 1992.

Haignere is now working intensively to master the Russian language, TASS was told at the USSR Chief Space Administration Glavkosmos. Tognini comes to his aid here. Both pilots have begun training under the general programme to prepare cosmonauts for space flights. Here, too, Tognini can help his countryman.

Tognini was welcomed as an old-timer. During his previous stay in the Soviet Union, Tognini married a resident of the Star City. He now returns with his wife Yeleni and a small daughter, who turned one year old recently.

Soviet-French cooperation in space exploration, specifically in the field of piloted cosmonautics, has a rich history. French astronaut Chretien took part in joint Soviet-French space mission twice—in 1982 and 1988.

Baltic Republics

Landsbergis Says Lithuania To Boycott Referendum

OW0502171391 Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese 1241 GMT 5 Feb 91

["Exclusive" interview with Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, by NHK correspondent Keiji Saito; place and date not given—recorded; from the "NHK News 21" program; Landsbergis speaks in Lithuanian and English with Japanese translation provided in subtitles; following is from the English and Japanese]

[Text] [caption reads: "Has Perestroyka Ended?"]

[Landsbergis] So far, we have been promoting true perestroyka and we are resolved to continue it in the days ahead. Although the reality is grim, I will implement perestroyka as far as I can.

[Sato] The Sajudis performed the real reforms, and it is still performing them.

[Landsbergis] Gorbachev's perestroyka was a fake after all. [caption reads: "Was The President Aware of the Repression?"]

[Landsbergis, in English] It is difficult to think otherwise. If you want, you can think this way. [caption reads: "I think that Moscow commanded the armed repression"] I spoke with some of the leaders, but not with Gorbachev. He was too busy or he was out. I have asked this person very strong, very active to say for president, the tanks are going. [sentence as heard] It will be a terrible thing. He can stop by immediate decree of president, and I asked him to do it. [caption reads: "I called the president many times the day before and two days before the repression, but I could not talk to him in person because he was either too busy or out. While speaking on the phone, tanks were rumbling about in the streets and I had a premonition of something terrible happening. Only 'an emergency decree' by the president could stop the tanks. I asked the man on the phone to pass on a message to the president that he issued an 'emergency decree.'"] [caption reads: "How Are You Going To Deal With Joint Patrols?"]

[Landsbergis, in English] They are not able to create a joint patrol when we are not participating, and a kind of resistance, the peaceful not participation. [sentence as heard] So they will act the pattern of occupying army only. [caption reads: "They cannot be called joint patrols when we are not participating in them. We are protesting against the joint patrols by the peaceful means of not participating in them. The 'occupation forces,' or the Soviet forces, are carrying them out arbitrarily. That is all."] [caption reads: "Will Lithuania Participate in the 'National Referendum?'"]

[Landbergis, in English] It is the same if our neighboring countries such as Poland or Finland would participate in such a referendum. [caption reads: "We will not participate in the referendum. Why do we, an independent country, need to take part in a national referendum of the Soviet Union? It is an absurd story, like Poles and Finns taking part in the referendum."] [caption reads: "Report by Keiji Saito, Vilnius"]

[Sato] Chairman Landsbergis emphasized anew his standard posture of seeking a resolution to the problem strictly through dialogue with Moscow. This is aimed at winning the support of the West and all other countries of the world by making vivid Lithuania's differences with the Soviet side, which unleashed armed force. As a matter of fact, Iceland and some other Nordic countries are now making moves toward establishing diplomatic relations with Lithuania.

In the inhabitants' poll on the propriety of Lithuania's independence, scheduled for 9 February, an overwhelming majority is certain to support independence. Lithuania is trying to get its independence recognized through the accumulation of these facts.

The interview was conducted in a quiet tone in general. But it reflected the Lithuanian people's posture of tenaciously seeking their independence, undaunted by the use of force.

Landsbergis Says Decree on Poll 'Interference'

LD0502192191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 1800 GMT 5 Feb 91

[Text] Please permit me to read a short comment by Esteemed Vytautas Landsbergis on the decree issued half an hour ago [by USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev]. He said that the decree by the USSR president on the nationwide poll of the Lithuanian population reflects an old tradition of the Soviet Union, according to which law and authority stem not from the will of the people, as expressed by a free vote, but is decided autocratically upon orders from the rulers.

The Lithuanian Republic has restored democracy, and is basing itself upon the free expressions of citizens' will through elections, plebiscites, or through some other form. The Government of the Lithuanian Republic—no, I beg your pardon, the Lithuanian Republic—is guided by laws in this, as well as in other respects. It is being guided by its own laws.

The decree by the USSR president is being assessed, however, as interference in the affairs of the sovereign Lithuanian state.

This constitutes the short comment on today's decree by the USSR president.

Lithuanian 'Independence Referendum' Scored

PM0102124791 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 31 Jan 91 First Edition p 1

[Report by B. Olshevskiy under "Situation in Baltic Region" rubric: "'We Approve,' Lithuanian-Style"]

[Text] Vilnius—Among the events of concern to the people of Vilnius nowadays—ranging from the exchange of money, which has been carried out here on far gentler terms than envisaged in the USSR presidential decree, to the gossip and rumors about the "flight abroad" of former Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene; from the continuing investigation into the tragic clashes outside the television tower, in which respect representatives of three prosecutors' offices (of the USSR, the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, and the Lithuanian Republic) are successfully hindering one another, to the demonstrative activeness of numerous official and unofficial guests representing various public, parliamentary, and even diplomatic circles in the West—the preparations for a poll of the population, scheduled by the republic Supreme Soviet for 9 February this year, occupy an ever greater place.

In accordance with the republic law on citizenship, everyone who has Lithuanian citizenship and the right to it may report to a polling place between 0700 and 2000 on 9 February and express in a secret ballot his attitude toward the first and as yet the only article in the new constitution now being drawn up, which states: "The Lithuanian State is an independent democratic republic." It is possible to do this by striking out the reply "I approve" or "I do not approve" on the ballot paper and, accordingly, leaving the other response untouched. Papers on which both replies have been struck out or left untouched are deemed invalid.

Everyone here has his own understanding of what this poll is. Vaclovas Litvinas, deputy chairman of the republic electoral commission, maintains that it is in no way a referendum but simply a desire to consult with people and to ascertain whether the work of the commission drawing up the constitution is proceeding in the right direction.

Virgilius Cepaitis, chairman of the parliamentary commission for civil rights and ethnic questions, thinks quite differently in an interview with the newspaper EKHO LITVY:

"This action may be called a referendum on independence. Although it is not at all the referendum which Gorbachev demands of us. We cannot participate in the referendum proposed by him, for Lithuania never joined the Soviet Union but was simply occupied and annexed by force. And now we are only restoring our statehood."

So that is the crux of the matter! This is why it was necessary to spend lots of money out of the already depleted republic treasury on ascertaining people's opinion of the only article of a still nonexistent constitution! The republic's leadership is once again drawing the population into its sordid political game. It was not for nothing that the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet adopted the resolution on the poll on the same day that the USSR Supreme Soviet resolved to hold a nationwide referendum 17 March on the preservation of the USSR.

Of course, chance coincidences do occur. But this is not one of them. The republic's leadership simply decided to forestall the all-Union referendum and, relying on the results of an urgently organized poll, to announce that Lithuania has already had its say. True, the poll deals with one thing, and the referendum with quite a different one. But Landsbergis, chairman of the republic Supreme Soviet, and his entourage do not disdain some more minor cheating in the big game they are playing today.

"I am sure," he says, "that the tragic events of recent days have shown the non-Russian-speaking inhabitants of Lithuania how dangerous it is to live in the Soviet Union... In this situation such a poll undoubtedly acquires still greater political weight."

"In other words, its holding is just a coincidence with the January tragedy?" a correspondent asks. Just listen to the legislator's reply to him: "Yes, a coincidence, which nevertheless helped us very much."

Again a coincidence! Also, of course, not quite or even not at all a chance one! The point is that the events of the fateful evening of 13-14 January, when blood was shed, really did swing public opinion in the republic, in the country, and even in the world in favor of the separatist forces which pass themselves off as democratic. It certainly cannot be ruled out that the bloodshed was specially provoked precisely by those who made political capital out of it.

In connection with the planned poll, however, many people are not averse to profiting by the January blood. The authors of the Lithuanian Republic Supreme Soviet appeal signed by representatives of various parliamentary factions—from left-wingers to nationalists—have not avoided this either. At the beginning of the appeal the authors warn that "forces hostile to Lithuania's independence might hamper the preparations for this poll in various ways, wrongly explain its purpose and essence," and even "prevent people from freely expressing their will" (it would be interesting to know in what way). After urging the inhabitants of Lithuania to advocate that the Lithuanian State be an independent democratic republic, in the name of the victims of the tragedy the authors entreat Lithuania's inhabitants to "come to the ballot boxes and express their attitude toward our common future."

From their viewpoint, of course, I have wrongly explained the purpose and essence of the poll. Well, I will be consistent to the end in my "error" and will venture to maintain that I do not believe in the genuineness of the democracy mentioned in the poll voting paper. For it is

democracy with moral and physical terror against dissidents, with the outlawing of political opponents, with overemphasis of one's own national principles to the detriment of panhuman ones, with insults against national dignity and flouting of the rights of "foreigners." The pillars of this democracy—Landsbergis and his confederates—have simply replaced all-Union totalitarianism with their own home-bred totalitarianism inherited from Antanas Smetona, the committed fascist and great admirer of Mussolini who proclaimed himself the "father of the nation."

This is why we, who are observing all this from within and feeling on our skin the "charms of democracy," find particularly insulting and offensive the verbal outpourings of the Yeltsins, Sobchaks, and other Russian democrats championing democracy in Lithuania from afar. And we want to shout to them: People, come to your senses, the only means of defending democracy in Lithuania today is presidential rule!

Vilnius Official Says Poll 'Provocative'

LD3001211991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 30 Jan 91

[Report by correspondent A. Kraminov in Vilnius; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] [Kraminov] [passage omitted] There is still no answer to the main question which is worrying the inhabitants of Lithuania as well as others: What aims were being pursued by the forces which caused the bloody clashes? The opponents of the present leadership are saying increasingly vigorously that the tragic events played into the hands only of Landsbergis and his entourage whose departure from the political scene, it is considered, would have been inevitable had it not been for the tragedy.

The night of 12-13 [January] sharply changed the mood of Lithuanian society. Of course, it is no coincidence that the leaders of the republican Supreme Soviet who previously categorically refused any referendums have now decided urgently to hold their own poll of the population. This event which has been scheduled for 9 February will probably become the main theme in the republic's internal political life.

Your committee has issued an appeal to boycott or at least to thwart the nationwide poll of the population about the future of Lithuania. Do you not think that this appeal is antidemocratic?

[Yu. Goltsov, representative of the Vilnius civic committee] In the first place we issued an appeal not to participate in the holding of an anticonstitutional poll, a poll which is not in accord with the Constitution of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic or the Constitution of the Lithuanian Republic—the one which allegedly is in operation on the territory—or the law on referendums. It is clearly a poll which has been put forward for provocative reasons. People are being asked whether they agree to living in a democratic and free Lithuania. No sensible person would reply no to this because we all want to live in a free and democratic republic, in a free and democratic state. But what sort of democratic Lithuania? We say no to the democracy of Landsbergis. We say yes to a democracy in the full meaning of the word which protects common human rights.

Vagnorius Charges 'Veritable Pillage' by Troops

LD0602112291 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0750 GMT 6 Feb 91

[Interview with Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius by correspondent Jozsef Barath in Vilnius; date not given—recorded; Vagnorius speaks in Lithuanian with superimposed translation into Hungarian translation]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Vagnorius] Yes, our situation is complicated and obviously you too have noticed this here in Vilnius. It is first and foremost the Soviet Army that (?does not believe this). I am not only thinking of the tragedy of 13 January but also of the fact that day after day they occupy civilian establishments. The patrols are using their weapons against civilians, against the population, against cars.

[Barath] Is this the start of the military dictatorship?

[Vagnorius] I do not think this is a dictatorship yet, but it would be difficult to say just what it is in fact. I can think of no example in world history of a foreign country's army in time of peace, even in the role of occupier, shooting at the civilian population. Yet this is the situation in our country. The Soviet Union is trying to curb us by means of military pressure. Our chances, in large measure, depend upon the changes taking place in Moscow. It is obviously no secret to anyone that what has happened in Vilnius and Riga was authorized at the highest level, that a scenario had been worked out for the takeover of power. So, whether tension diminishes depends on the Kremlin. We continue to be ready for dialogue, in so far as it does not take place in the shadow of tanks, with partners armed with rifles.

[Barath] Tell me, please, who does power really belong to here? To you, at the head of the government, or to the commander of the local military garrison?

[Vagnorius] We exercise complete control over the civilian institutions. In the economy, for example, we control the situation. It is another matter that the soldiers begin a veritable pillage every night.

[Barath] So, the day belongs to you but the night belongs to the Soviet Army?

[Vagnorius] Yes, although it has not progressed so far yet that they would occupy industrial establishments or institutions at night. They are simply looting, without control, along the public highways. The patrols can permit themselves every indulgence. This is part of the

policy to intimidate Lithuania. The economy and public administration, however, I repeat, are under our control. Not because we might have weapons, tanks, airplanes. This is simply because the population supports us, and this gives us greater power than weapons give to them. Nearly 100 percent of the republic's inhabitants stand on our side.

[Barath] It is more than interesting that when the shooting began at the television tower, people did not flee from danger; on the contrary, everybody rushed to the scene of the tragedy. Everybody rushed to the Supreme Council where they expected the next attack. This is generally the other way around. People flee from the place where danger threatens them. The fact that this happened in a different way in your country says a lot.

[Vagnorius] Well, Parliament House, or the government building, after all, are symbols, symbols of statehood. They are not just the seats of public office. For this reason it is natural to us that it happened this way. We have no type of armed force, we have no military, even our police force is not our own. The only chance, therefore, for us to defend our public buildings is for people to stand with nothing but their bodies before the tanks.

[Barath] so you continue the struggle for your independence. What kind of government program do you have for this?

[Vagnorius] The essence of this program, even despite the extremely difficult outside conditions, the military occupation, is that within the shortest possible time we should go over to a market economy. In the past five years we have already prepared plans in which I myself also took part. What is left now, on the other hand, is the hardest, the concluding, phase of the process, the starting of privatization and the liberation of prices. This phase is beginning now.

[Barath] And can this be implemented? I ask this because Prunskiene's government had to resign over the price increases, although they are, in all probability, really unavoidable.

[Vagnorius] We do not plan to make up for the budget deficit by increasing the prices of the most essential foodstuffs, as Mrs. Prunskiene had wanted to do. It is natural, however, that the price structures and the price levels have to change since the prices inherited from the command economy reflect nothing except the whims of officials.

[Barath] Where will you get the money, the capital, for privatization? This is a problem even in Hungary since the population is poor and foreign capital is hardly rushing now to get here.

[Vagnorius] Well, our population has plenty of the currency now in circulation here, that is to say rubles. Only, we do not want to sell our more essential enterprises for rubles, because the ruble is not really money, only colored paper. Even the Soviet Union itself does not accept its own money in larger amounts. Of course, this causes serious difficulties. At any rate, we have a program within which citizens can get concessional shares. [passage omitted]

[Barath] What is our prognosis for the near future? What will happen or can happen? Do you consider it conceivable that the oppression could become even greater than it currently is?

[Vagnorius] This largely depends on what happens in the Soviet Union. There is no doubt that the government, Gorbachev's team, is taking a big step backward. At the same time, however, in the past days, the impetus for the return to the past has somewhat eased.

[Barath] Yes, but this could be a visible concession on account of the hopes of the Soviet-American summit meeting. Now that the summit meeting has been put off indefinitely, again anything could happen.

[Vagnorius] I think one of the essential reasons for the postponement of the summit meeting was precisely the Baltics. For this reason I hope that the delay will strengthen the positions of the democratic forces in the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

Landsbergis Expects 'New Attacks'

AU0402213091 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 4 Feb 91 pp 174-175

[Interview with Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis by unidentified DER SPIEGEL correspondent; place and date not given: "We Expect New Attacks"]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] Mr. President, the first bloody attack on Lithuania's independence has not achieved its goal, part of Moscow's troops are withdrawing again. What do you expect next?

[Landsbergis] New attacks.

[DER SPIEGEL] Again with force?

[Landsbergis] We must also be prepared for this.

[DER SPIEGEL] The reactionary Colonel Alksnis has accused Gorbachev of having botched the operation against the independence of the Baltic republics. Was there a precise plan by the Kremlin to force the Baltic republics back under its rule?

[Landsbergis] Yes. The independent governments of the Baltic states were supposed to be eliminated. But the plan also included the ukase on the joint patrols of military and police in the towns of the entire Union.

[DER SPIEGEL] The center wanted to regain all its power?

[Landsbergis] Yes, and the implementation of this plan was purposefully coordinated with the beginning of the Gulf war.

[DER SPIEGEL] Did Shevardnadze know of this and was this the reason for his spectacular resignation as foreign minister?

[Landsbergis] I am sure that he knew about it and I also believe that this was the reason that he gave such an emphatic warning against an imminent dictatorship.

[DER SPIEGEL] The bloodbath in Vilnius obviously came too early. Were the putschists in the other Baltic republics surprised by that, were they not yet ready? Is it possible that this was the reason that the plan failed, which envisages the assumption of power by the reactionary forces in the entire Baltic regions?

[Landsbergis] We would consider it a great honor for us if this were the case. But only the future will tell this for sure.

[DER SPIEGEL] After the bloody night you personally called Gorbachev and asked him whether he is still in power at all. Is he?

[Landsbergis] This can be answered only when it is clear whom he will ultimately hold responsible for the events. However, I believe that the dead can be credited to the account of local commanders. Of course, however, the highest authority in the state is also responsible for this, in particular if it is not able to apprehend those responsible.

[DER SPIEGEL] Your reaction to the use of force was the announcement of a referendum on Lithuania's independence, something which Moscow has long demanded. Why are you now suddenly willing to do this?

[Landsbergis] It is a step toward founding our state.

[DER SPIEGEL] Then why did you reject it in the past?

[Landsbergis] We solve our problems ourselves. Therefore, we do not hold a referendum that is demanded by the outside. If we held a referendum to secede from the Soviet Union, this would mean to recognize that we are part of the Soviet Union. However, we never joined the USSR voluntarily, thus, we do not have to secede.

[DER SPIEGEL] Nevertheless, now you are holding a referendum.

[Landsbergis] This has nothing to do with what Gorbachev demands. We consider it an opinion poll to express the political will of our nation.

[DER SPIEGEL] From the very beginning, you aimed at confrontation with Moscow, which has earned you many accusations. Today, after the bloody night, do you regret something? Looking back, would you perhaps do something differently?

[Landsbergis] I do not see anything important that I should regret or would do differently.

[DER SPIEGEL] Moscow Mayor Popov accuses you and your Baltic colleagues of having thought only of yourselves instead of helping to strengthen democracy all over the country and of pursuing your own goals only afterwards. Your withdrawal from the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies has weakened the democratic forces, he says.

[Landsbergis] We did quite a lot to strengthen democracy in the Soviet Union; we have given an example of practical democracy. But to ask that we dwarfs should drag the giant USSR out of the morass is both unrealistic and exaggerated.

[DER SPIEGEL] You do not trust the Soviet's capability for democracy?

[Landsbergis] All this is proceeding very, very slowly. The Russian democrats do not agree among themselves. Therefore, they prefer to look for the reason for their failure somewhere else.

[DER SPIEGEL] With your withdrawals from the Congress of People's Deputies you have deprived yourselves of your influence on overall development.

[Landsbergis] This Congress of People's Deputies has been dominated by conservative forces from the very beginning. The laws passed by the congress have all strengthened the center and the omnipotence of the entire state. After all, we could not sacrifice our own rights to an unknown future of the Union.

[DER SPIEGEL] Whom do you now place your hopes on—Boris Yeltsin perhaps?

[Landsbergis] Yeltsin's path permits hope. However, the question is of whether he will be able to stick to his line and to his own position.

[DER SPIEGEL] The hopes for aid from abroad have been disappointing. Now the Baltic foreign ministers were in Bonn—do you expect aid from Germany?

[Landsbergis] So far we have not seen a chance to place great expectations on Germany's policy. The FRG is too oriented toward the Soviet Union. Most recently, however, we believe we see some changes in this respect.

[DER SPIEGEL] Bonn still supports Moscow.

[Landsbergis] I think it is wrong to support someone who behaves in such an obviously wrong way.

[DER SPIEGEL] If we come back next year, do you think that we will then be able to talk to you as the president of a sovereign state of Lithuania?

[Landsbergis] Perhaps. Perhaps, however, this building might not exist anymore.

Lithuania Increases Delegation for Moscow Talks

LD0502204291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1915 GMT 5 Feb 91

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Ustsila]

[Text] Vilnius, 5 Feb (TASS)—The Lithuanian Supreme Soviet today adopted a decision "on increasing the composition of the state delagation of the Lithuanian Republic for interstate talks with the USSR." Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnoryus has gone into the composition in place of ex-premier Kazimiera Prunskiene. The place of Foreign Affairs Minister Algirdas Saudargas, who is abroad, has been taken by his Deputy Voldemaras Katkus. General director of the department for the protection of the country Audryus Butkyavichus and Kyastutis Glavyatskas, professor-economist and deputy to the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, have been additionally included in the composition of the delegation.

Having submitted to deputies the draft decision on this question, Vytautus Landsbergis, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic, noted that the Lithuanian side is speaking out for "clarity, stability and the continuity of what has already been achieved," and therefore he proposed that the composition of the Lithuanian delegation should not be substantially changed, but should merely be increased.

Deputies of the Supreme Soviet adopted an appeal to the population of Lithuania in which they called for the universal poll of the population planned for 9 February to become "a day of the will of all inhabitants of Lithuania—Lithuanians, Poles, Russians and people of other nationalities, an act of special importance for everyone, for Lithuania and the whole world."

Gediminas Vagnorius, Lithuania's prime minister, today delivered a report on the economic situation at the plenary sittings of the session. A draft law "on the privatization of state property" was discussed, and certain other questions were considered.

In connection with the nationwide referendum scheduled for 9 February, the sittings of the Supreme Soviet session have been broken off until next week. The deputies have dispersed to meet their constituents, and, at the end of the week, they will accompany delegations of foreign legislators arriving in Lithuania as observers of the way in which the referendum is conducted. Parliamentary press spokesman Audrjus Azubalis announced that delegations from the Scandinavian countries, Poland, the CSFR, Hungary and a number of other countries are coming to Lithuania for that purpose.

Lithuanian Premier Views Economic Problems

LD0502161291 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Lithuanian 0826 GMT 5 Feb 91

[Excerpts] The prime minister of the Republic of Lithuania, Gediminas Vagnorius, made a statement at the plenary sitting of the Supreme Council on the economic situation in the republic and the ensuing political situation. He stressed that this was not a government program of economic reform which will be submitted to the Supreme Council in due course.

He stated inter alia: I think it is not necessary to explain how difficult the situation is in the republic's economy. There is no need also to explain that this difficult situation depends not on us alone. The decline in the Soviet Union's ecoomy is destroying our economy, too. [passage omitted] We all know that Lithuania supplies the Soviet Union with about 6-7 billion rubles [R] worth of products, and obtains roughly the same quantity from the Soviet Union. [passage omitted] I am not saying that we should separate from the supply and from economic and trade relations, but we must separate from the Soviet Union's economic system, from its currency and financial system which is at present experiencing a complete crisis. [passage omitted]

At present the situation is complex in that the Republic of Lithuania is experiencing three basic difficulties. The first of them is that Lithuania has a very large internal debt. [passage omitted] We can calculate as follows: R4 billion appropriated by Moscow from the saving banks. Of course, we are going to demand the return of these sums, but I am talking about the real state of affairs and it will be very difficult to obtain that debt from Moscow, bearing in mind that it has hundreds of billions of such debt in the Soviet Union. Further we have R1 ½ billion of debt resulting from the exchange of bank notes. Maybe, this sum is somewhat smaller. We also have a debt in the sum of R1 billion as a credit which we used to cover the difference in the products sold to the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

If we add these sums together, we will see that practically they amount to the annual national income of the Republic of Lithuania. This is a large sum. The only consolation is that at present we have state property which we are going not only to distribute, but also we will sell part of it to cover this internal debt. [passage omitted]

Further, Lithuania is experiencing difficulties because the Soviet Union does not fulfil supply agreements. We have experienced the blockade and, although its lifting has been announced, in reality it is continuing. Practically we receive at present less than a half of metal, timber, and other raw materials. This list is very long and applies virtually to all kinds of raw materials. Of course, this failure to supply materials is linked with the fact that the centralized administrative system is in ruins, the market system does not operate there, but the same applies to us, this system does operate here, either [passage omitted] there is also a 20 percent reduction in production there. This has an influence on us, too. [passage omitted]

The Soviet Union has substantially increased the prices of raw materials from the beginning of this year. This is

a three- or fourfold increase. [passage omitted] Of course, we are going to react to this increase, and we will increase the prices of products which we sell to the Soviet Union. [passage omitted]

The last difficulty is that from the second half of last year Lithuania's economy was virtually not governed. [passage omitted] Last year the discussion on market economy started, we started adopting laws the implementation of which would take place only in the second half of this year. [passage omitted] Thus the economy has not been regulated at all and complete anarchy has taken place. [passage omitted]

While there is no transfer to a market economy, the state tasks must exist. There is no other way. These tasks will be adopted at the next government meeting. [passage omitted]

We may draw the conclusion that the situation is critical but it is not hopeless. It can be solved. One has to work in two directions for this purpose. Firstly, by adopting economic reform laws and implementing them. Secondly, by solving ugent problems of regulating the economy. [passage omitted]

Measures which have been intended to improve the situation in agriculture are insufficient. In spite of the fact that the prices of agricultural products have been increased, they do not cover all costs experienced by agricultural enterprises. [passage omitted]

In the near future we are going to begin implementing the reform of prices, the program of privatization in spite of the complex political situation.

Vagnorius Urges Western Pressure on Kremlin

AU0402184291 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 1 Feb 91 p 1, 9

[Interview with Lithuanian Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius by Maja Norbutt, place and date not given: "It Is Difficult To Foresee The Future"]

[Text] [Korbutt] Gorbachev's decree on emergency measures to safeguard law and order has been in effect since Friday. On the other hand, USSR Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh promised President Bush that the extra military units would be withdrawn from Lithuania. How do you view the situation there?

[Vagnorius] Gorbachev's decree applies only to the Soviet Union. However, we have no guarantees that Soviet forces and Interior Ministry units will not go into action in Lithuania. We fear provocation. As far as the talks in Washington are concerned, we do not see any results. I must make it clear that there have still not been any changes.

I also think the Western powers should exert greater pressure on the Kremlin. The Soviet Union has never been in such a difficult economic situation before, therefore it has never been so dependent on the West as it is now.

[Korbutt] Was it said in Washington that the Soviet Union would commence dialogue with the Baltic republics?

[Vagnorius] We have called for this dialogue several times in the past, and we are ready for it even now. However, certain conditions are required. We cannot talk to the Kremlin if Soviet soldiers are conducting terrorist activity in our streets and our citizens are dying.

[Korbutt] Do you not fear the disintegration of the Baltic bloc? In their talks with the Kremlin, Latvia and Estonia might agree to make far-reaching concessions.

[Vagnorius] Indeed they might. But I think any concessions from Latvia and Estonia will be purely tactical.

[Korbutt] The ninth of February is an important date. In a general referendum, the population is meant to vote for the motion that Lithuania is a free and democratic republic. What do you think will be the result?

[Vagnorius] First we have to get to the referendum. We seriously fear that there will be efforts to prevent it from taking place. We even have evidence that such efforts are being prepared. For our part, we will make sure that the Lithuanian police guards the polling stations, but we do not know if that will be enough.

[Korbutt] Public opinion has been angered by the rumor, which has been denied, that ex-Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene has asked for political asylum in Switzerland. How do you view the work of her cabinet?

[Vagnorius] I do not wish to speak about this subject for the time being. All I can say is I want this to be a completely different government. In a nutshell, so far the legislature has been democratic, and the government communist.

[Korbutt] Do you think Kazimiera Prunskiene still wants to participate in politics?

[Vagnorius] Certainly. She wants to do so, and so does Ex-Vice Prime Minister Algirdas Brazauskas. We would like this to be a struggle for independence, but we think it will be a struggle for power.

[Korbutt] How do you think the situation in Lithuania will develop?

[Vagnorius] It does not depend on us alone, but I do not think the USSR's policies, reminiscent of the previous era, have any major chances of success.

Any attempts to impose a dictatorship, would lead to civil war throughout the Soviet Union. But it is difficult to say what Gorbachev is doing. So far he has behaved not like a politician who foresees events, but like a politician who reacts to things too late. That is an enormous risk.

It really is difficult to make any predictions today. I never imagined I would ever find myself unable to predict the future. But now I cannot.

Landsbergis Says 'Misinformation' Increasing

LD0502065891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in Russian 1600 GMT 4 Feb 91

[Excerpt] In connection with this [plebiscite on Lithuania's independence], export of Soviet propaganda abroad has increased, said Vytautas Landsbergis. For example, "Our Own", a film made by A. Nevzorov, a journalist of Leningrad Television, is used for the purpose of disseminating misinformation. This film is being shown at almost all Soviet Embassies and at the so-called culture centers. Attempts continue to convince the world public that the political situation in Lithuania is very unstable and that the main reason for this is discord among nationalities.

At the same time, political and economic pressure is put on the government of foreign countries, especially those in Central Europe.

The Soviet propaganda machine is putting ever-increasing pressure on B. Yeltsin, on whose activities democratic forces of Russia pin their hopes. [passage omitted]

'Documentary Film' on Baltic Events Aired

LD0602090291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1932 GMT 5 Feb 91

["Documentary film" on events in the Baltic republics; voice-over by unidentified announcer]

[Text] [Caption reads: "Premiere of a documentary film"; video shows black-and-white "VHS" footage of Soviet soldiers hitting civilians with rifle butts; caption in English: "Vilnius, Lithuania—Sunday"]

[Narrator] This footage was seen throughout the world. How did such a thing become possible?

The arhythmia and the pain of regional conflicts is increasingly upsetting the pulse of the country's normal life: the Transcaucasus, Central Asia, Moldova. Now the Baltic republics. Everywhere the same questions: How are we to build relations further? Are we to live together in a renewed union or are we to disperse to our ethnic areas?

Perestroyka has introduced changes in the previously fairly calm, measured life of Lithuania: The ideas of democracy; glasnost; of political, economic, and cultural sovereignty; and of the creation of a truly law-governed socialist state received the backing of all sections of Lithuania's population. These ideas were taken up by Sajudis which proclaimed itself a public movement of citizens in support of perestroyka stated by the CPSU. This enabled Sajudis to draw over to its side a considerable proportion of Lithuania's population.

But from the very outset, by degrees, the idea that Soviet rule—the so-called immigrants, non-Lithuanians, occupiers—is to blame for everything bad in the republic began to be pushed persistently. Hundreds of thousands of Soviet people in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia started to understand increasingly clearly that they were becoming hostages of a political game in which there wasn't a particle of concern for them. They were being pushed into becoming emigrants in their own country. Such a course of events induced people of various nationalities, representatives of the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia to close their ranks under the motto: For a renewed union, for equality and unity.

The Sajudis leaders realized that in such a situation they could not fully reveal their far-reaching schemes: Frank conversations at conspiratorial meetings in a narrow circle, and propaganda in the framework of a common program at open forums.

Thus, two political faces developed in Sajudis. Let's recall how the country's leader was welcomed in Lithuania in January 1990. He convincingly demonstrated the illusory nature of aspirations for a separate existence and the ruinous nature for Lithuania of self-isolation. But, unfortunately, Gorbachev's words did not reach the consciousness of those who had got into the habit of acting in accordance with the Lithuanian proverb: It is not important how, provided it is different.

Let's recall the lessons of the February 1990 elections. The supporters of a socialist renewal lacked organization and cohesion at a time when party structures collapsed under the blows of the splittists. Sajudis carried the day in the elections. But have the deputies of the present Lithuanian Supreme Soviet the right to speak on behalf of the entire people? After all, less than half of the total number of voters voted in their favor: altogether 41.2 percent.

Reflecting on the January events in the Baltic republics and attempting to understand the reasons for what happened, I turn first of all to the recent past. If one takes Lithuania, everything started on 11 March of last year. It was precisely then, hurriedly, at night, that the republic's independence was proclaimed. Without having attempted to find out the mood of the entire population, without even having completed the election campaign, the Lithuanian legislature hastened—prior to the already imminent decision of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies on the procedure for republics leaving the Union—to abolish the USSR Constitution and restore the 12 May 1938 Constitution of bourgeois Lithuania.

Thus, to all intents and purposes, an anticonstitutional coup took place. Forces of social revanche, which had been able to take advantage of the slogans of perestroyka, came to power. The Sajudis leaders finally cast off the mask of supporters of perestroyka. Thanks to their efforts, society split into two confronting forces: supporters of separatism and a return to bourgeois ways,

and those coming out in favor of a sovereign Lithuania within a renewed union. All further events in the republic took place in an atmosphere of increasing confrontation.

This is the chronicle of one day.

Let's pay attention. Eight months have elapsed since independence had been proclaimed. There were two months to go before the January events. [video shows November military parade, protester being dragged away by soldiers, man interviewed near parade]

[Man] I say there was no one there at all.

[Interviewer] Why?

[Man] Because this is not our holiday.

[Narrator] That is how it has already happened more than once: grown-ups are using children for their purposes.

When it comes to the settling of accounts, logic and common sense take a back seat. Any discussion turns into a kitchen squabble. While filming we involuntarily paid attention to a few citizens; three, in particular, stuck in our memory. This woman [video shows middle-aged woman], this bearded man [video shows bulky bearded man], and this man in a brown jacket [video shows man]. They were constantly walking from one group of people to another, vigorously entered the verbal skirmish, incited some and provoked others. Remember this man! [video shows man in brown jacket] We will meet him later in January on the eve of the bloody events. He was continually being escorted by a local TV cameraman; and he himself, by his habits, reminded one of a full-time provocateur.

In order to check out our assumption, we decided to follow them. Here is his first meeting. Who is slapping him on his shoulder in such a friendly way and directing him toward where the next discussion has arisen? It is Antanas Sterleckas, previously convicted three times and now chairman of the Lithuanian Liberty League—a coordinator, an inspirer, an instigator, and, excuse me, a provocateur. As you can see, the squabble is not being provoked by the vigilantes. It is being provoked by the other side. So far only fists are coming into play, but we already know that things will go as far as weapons.

Confrontation, mutual hostility, hatred, emnity. At the same time, the open rehabilitation and extolling of participants in nationalistic gangs and units of the war and postward period has started. From 30 July 1990 the memorials and burial places of these fighters were declared a cultural and historical heritage and placed under the protection of the state.

Let's make a small digression. An objective and unprejudiced man, who knows anything at all about history, cannot but admit that Lithuania's joining the Soviet Union was not an act of annexation either in essence or in form. After all, at that time, just as now, two forces opposing one another existed in Lithuania. The upper hand was gained by the one which was coming out in favor of joining the USSR.

Naturally, both opposing forces—at that time and now—present their own interpretation of the fact of the Baltic republics joining the USSR. Some call this a voluntary joining, others an occupation.

Unfortunately, the Lithuanian legislature adheres to the latter point of view. It is precisely for this reason that it unleashed a real war of laws. One after another, acts were adopted in Lithuania which were aimed at disrupting normal relations with the Soviet Union: on 12 March on the invalidity of the USSR law on universal military duty; on 14 March on halting the activity of the military commissariats of the USSR Ministry of Defense as institutions of a foreign state located on the territory of the Lithuanian Republic.

[Algimantas Visockas, military police general] I am a military man. We have not left the USSR; we are within the composition of the Soviet Union, and for me the moratorium has no significance. I am fulfilling the order of the defense minister and the decision of the USSR Council of Ministers. If these soldiers have deserted from the ranks of the Soviet Army, the Soviet Army should undertake all measures to return them, to the last man, so that they should serve their term honorably and conscientiously and then returned to their parents.

[Narrator] The anticonstitutional laws were followed by anticonstitutional actions, including some directed against the Soviet Army. A total of about 50 actions directed against the Soviet Armed Forces were undertaken in the republic. The wave of anti-Army moods brought to the surface opened provocations on the streets and desecration of monuments to soldier-liberators. Twenty-four thousand veterans of the Great Fatherland War were deprived of their benefits. Servicement and members of their families were subjected to constant discrimination.

[Unidentified woman] Groups go out and begin—but we are not infringing on anything. Are we occupying someone else's housing, or do my children occupy someone else's place when they go to school?

[Narrator] Having forgotten the principles which they themselves proclaimed—the principles of democracy and political pluralism—in September 1990 the Lithuanian legislature adopted a law on political parties which virtually banned the activity of the communists of the republic.

Their own internal affairs and procuracy bodies were set up. Changes and additions were made to the criminal code of the Lithuanian Republic which faced people with the threat of a death sentence for deliberately participating in the activity of a foreign state—which, after the adoption of the act of independence, also meant the USSR. This virtual return to the darkest pages of the past deepened the split in the republic even further.

The influential French weekly NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR, Analyzing the articles of the new legislation, noted that they made it possible to persecute the national minorities—the Russians, Poles, Belorussians, and Jews who make up over 20 percent of the population of the republic. All of these laws and decisions violated the links which had grown over years between Lithuania and the USSR, and ruled out the rights and liberties of those who continue to consider themselves part of the USSR.

In order to implement the anticonstitutional laws, instructions were issued to draw up lists of communists, officials of law-enforcement bodies, all dissidents, and those who did not agree with the Lithuanian Government—all of those whom it was planned to isolate, or more accurately, simply to annihilate at "X" hour. This work is carried out with great zeal on the scale of the whole republic by the Department for the Protection of the Country.

This department used force to seize the majority of the republican DOSAAF [Voluntary Organization for Assisting the Army, Navy, and Air Force] center with all the materials and weapons in them. It is well-known that emissaries from the Department for the Protection of the Country went to the Transcaucasus to acquire weapons and other combat materials. The command of the Vilnius garrison received statements from many former servicemen whom the Department tried to draw in to work as specialists in weaponry and conducting combat operations.

Mr. Landsbergis receives diligent advice on various questions from (Linas Tojelis), a former leading official of the U.S. Administration. And (Andrew Aver), ex-captain in the U.S. reconnaissance-sabotage unit, the so-called Green Berets, trains snipers to shoot at helicopters and in using bottles of inflammatory mixtures.

The anticonstitutional armed formations are being set up not only within the framework of the state structure. Militarized units of an extremist persuasion have begun to raise their heads. They, too, are being set up contrary to the decree from the USSR president.

Here is one of them, the Union of Riflemen [Soyuz Strelkov]. Let us listen to what their commander says.

[Commander, in video interview] Its history is a rich one, first of all in that everyone to whom the idea of the independence of the republic was important entered this union. In 1918, this union began to be formed as partisan units which fought against the Bolsheviks and the Polish interventionists of Pilsudski and also against the Bermontininkai. That is, it has tried to bring together as far as possible people who, in case of necessity, in case of danger to Lithuanian independence, could take up weapons to defend the homeland.

[Interviewer] Do you have weapons?

[Commander] At present, of course not. Soyuz is being joined by an increasing number of young men of call-up age, or those who have left service in the ranks of the Soviet Army as the army of foreign state. We shall find the means for our young people, for these young lads.

[Narrator] [video shows close-up of man in Union of Riflemen uniform; screen splits to show same man in dark brown jacket] Well, here is our old friend. Do you remember the man in the dark brown jacket? Only now he is wearing the uniform cap of the Union of Riflemen. So, now we know one of the provocateurs.

[Interviewer] Are you trying to become armed?

[Commander] Yes, if this is agreed by legislation, by the legislature and the governemnt.

[Interviewer] How many of you are there?

[Commander] I can give you a figure. We now number 5,000.

[Narrator] The commander forgot to say that the Riflemen were active accomplices of the Hitlerites and formed the backbone of the nationalist gangs in the postwar years. As we see, the bloody glory of their predecessors does not subsequently let their greenwood brothers rest in peace.

Thus, on the one hand, in the republic there are many thousands of quite well-organized forces which have obtained a high level of mobility and which have secretly armed themselves.

On the other hand, there are various sociopolitical organizations, production collectives, and citizens of all nationalities more insistently demanding the dissolution of the legislature, which is at a political impasse, and the introduciton of direct presidential rule in Lithuania—people brought to the brink by endless restrictions, trampling on their human dignity and civic rights.

In face of the real threat of the restoration of the bourgeois order, the interests of various groups of the population which differed in their ethnic and social composition began to draw closer together. The privatization of housing which led to workers' families being driven from their homes, the return of the former land owners, and the threat that a considerable proportion of the working peasantry would become landless brought together people who had previously been separate.

Their future was predicted by (Bartusavicius), member of the Sajudis, last November. About 5 percent of the republic's inhabitants, he stated, would buy up the property of Lithuania and control all the rest. Such a system will only increase the exploitation of hte people who work at the enterprises.

[video shows barricade made of concrete blocks bearing the words LIETUVOS SIRDIS and BUS LAISVA] This concrete barricade separated those who express the interests of those five percent from the basic masses of the population of Lithuania.

[video shows crowds, fist fights between young men, fire hoses being sprayed on a crowd] Attempts to set out their demands to the leadership of the republic were met with streams from a fire hose.

[video shows man on a balcony using a bullhorn to address a crowd; violence in the crowd]

[Man on balcony] Comrades, one second...

[Narrator] The sides were still trying to explain their positions. But it was already too late. No one wanted to listen to anyone.

There were only a few hours left before an open clash.

The situation was whipped up not only by local inciters but also by some new arrivals. Here is one of them, Nikolay Groriyevich Promakhov. Let us listen to this struggler for democracy and human rights who has assumed the right to speak on our behalf.

[Promakhov] Therefore, we, the people of Russia, are repressed, but we have the potential energy for freedom. I am one of the helpers of Kalugin, the former KGB general, you know. I covered 6,000 km with him around Krasnodar Kray. I say to you honestly that you are playing the role of occupationists. I tell you directly, like your father. Citizens, who are the guilty ones? They are the soldiers. But they are not soldiers, they are just cattle.

Two oppowing forces have clashed in Lithuania. Their irreconcilability led in the end to human victims. Attempts to reconcile them have not yet produced results, since the leaders do not wish to give up their principles. In doing so, they refer to the people and assert that they are acting on their behalf and in their interests. But is the real opinion of the people known? The best way to find it out is to hold a referendum.

Two groups are holding rallies at the same time. Are you afraid of a—well, in quotation marks—civil war?

[Young man in uniform] Of course we fear a civil war.

[Narrator] Som will wisdom and common sense prevail, or will the republic be cast into the abyss of civil war? [caption reads: "Independent Creative Association 'Absolyut'—1991"]

Volunteers To Man Vilnius TV Sought

PM0502161191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Feb 91 p 1

[Report by S. Belyayev: "No Volunteers Found"]

[Text] Ulyanovsk—USSR Gosteleradio [State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting] in Ulyanovsk has asked for sound operators, cameramen, and lighting engineers to volunteer to work in Vilnius. Nobody wants to work in the television tower seized by paratroops, so a search for the "conscientious" and the "brave" is afoot across the expanses of Mother Russia. It should be noted that only two workers from the Ulyanovsk television center have shown any interest in the proposal. Whether for this reason or for some other, as yet there has been no confirmation of the request from the Gosteleradio side...

Vilnius Radio Official on Broadcasts

LD0202141591 Vilnius International Service in English 2300 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Remarks by (Eva Naurukiene), head of "the English service of Radio Vilnius," in response to "several faxes" received by Radio Vilnius from listeners on 1 February]

[Text] Hello. Your faxes today serve not only to confirm reception of our broadcasts; they give us additional strength and firmness. Resolve to resist the occupiers we do not lack. Thank God we are all safe and sound. No one of us was injured during the tragic events, and we all continue our usual work. Our tape recorders, cassette recording, dictionaries, QSL cards [frequency information cards] and other indispensable belongings were left behind in the occupied buildings. You must have noticed, of course, our opening music has changed. The one you were used to is guarded by armed soldiers. Now, we use the initial bars of the song: "We Have Been Born Lithuanians." The song's words are very significant to us: We have been born Lithuanians, and we want to be Lithuanians; this honor was given to us by birth, and we must not foresake it.

Mr. (Ichirsh Asaki) asks in what kind of premises we are working now. Well, when we return to our premises, we shall tell you. Another question put by (Ichirsh Asaki) is: Why do the Soviets, on the one hand, attack and occupy the radio and TV center and, on the other, relay our programs? Well, the seizure of our premises and of our broadcasting (?commission) are constituent parts of the same plan. The Lithuanian parliament and government are taking steps to retrieve the premises, while the resumption of Radio Vilnius broadcasts is our own achivement. In general, it is no use looking for plain logic in the actions of the Soviets.

Mr. (Girland Lindemark) asks our telephone number. Regrettably, Radio Vilnius cannot be reached by phone. You can call me at home. My telephone number is: code 0122; telephone number 633777.

As to radio station M1 [not further identified], its premises have been also been taken over by the troops and is not functioning at present. Well, and in conclusion, I quote Mrs. (Jean Shelnador): We are all working day and night; you are not alone; we are putting pressure on congress and the media.

Thank you, Jean. We shall hold on.

Prunskiene Comments on Resignation, Events

91UN0816A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 4, 30 Jan 91 p 3

[Interviews with Kazimiera Prunskiene by LITERATURNAYA GAZETA special correspondents T. Fast, Yu. Rost, and G. Tselms "a few hours before her resignation and immediately after"; place not given: "A Great Many Upheavals Await Us"]

[Text] **The unexpected departure of former Lithuanian Prime Minister K. Prunskiene from the country has evoked an avalanche of rumor and conjecture. After the sensation-causing report that she had allegedly requested political asylum in Switzerland, information came to light that K. Prunskiene was in Germany.**

Our correspondents succeeded in getting the last interviews with K. Prunskiene. One was granted to Tatyana Fast just a few hours prior to the tragic events in Lithuania, and another—between Yu. Rost and G. Tselms and the ex-premier—after these events but prior to her unexpected departure.

[Fast] Kazimiera Pranovna, I have heard talk in Lithuania that your leaving office is a Moscow-staged event.

[Prunskiene] Insofar as there is a network of remote government operating in our legislature, I am unable to say. But it is clear that my departure is not just a matter coming from the hands of "true patriots." Accusations leveled in our direction with respect to ill-considered compensations for increased prices are just a pretext. Everybody knew about the price increases prior to the new year—the legislature, its chairman, and the people, who rushed out to buy everything up. However, I could refrain from resigning if I knew that the chairman supported me. He expressed the opposite point of view, and I should not stay.

[Fast] Do you think your resignation will influence relations between Lithuania and Moscow?

[Prunskiene] This will simply free Moscow's hands. It was difficult for Moscow to step over Brazauskas and myself. Now it will be easier.

[Fast] In your opinion, what today could correct the relationship between Lithuania and the Union?

[Prunskiene] Only dialogue, during which agreement can be reached on something... Non-maneuverability will lead nowhere. It is because of this that we missed an historic opportunity for Lithuania, between June and September, when all the political factors were having a positive effect.

[Fast] What will you do in retirement?

[Prunskiene] My deputy responsibilities remain. I have received many offers from Western publishing houses to write a book. Why should I not now make the half million dollars people are talking about so much?

[Fast] Will you stay on as delegation member in the negotiations with Moscow?

[Prunskiene] Yes, they are not agreeing to release me from the delegation. Since 1988 I have been conducting negotiations on economic matters. One journalist reckoned that my presentations on behalf of Lithuania occupied 60 percent of the total time.

[Fast] Today in Lithuania people talk about several shadow governments. One within the framework of the presently functioning structure of power, another as a competitor to the current one. As far as is known, the latter—calling itself the Committee for National Salvation—has already assumed powers of executive and legislative authority.

[Prunskiene] I think this committee is overrating itself right now... I will allow, however, that it might become the entity of a fictional signing of a Union treaty.

[Fast] Your predictions for Lithuania?

[Prunskiene] Many upheavals await us. This is the most difficult time for seeking constructive resolutions. I foresee a deepening of the conflict between the parliament and parliamentary leadership. We were a target for everybody. If something was not right, you could accuse the government. It will be interesting to see who they accuse now. [Prunskiene ends]

[Second Interview—Prunskiene] The military offensive against Lithuania only proves her sovereignty. Moscow has recognized us in an oblique fashion. After all, an army is not going to fight with its own people.

[Rost, Tselms] Do you believe that just one side is to blame for what happened? Or were there certain actions on the part of the other side which provoked matters?

[Prunskiene] If there were such actions, they too were directed from afar.

Lithuanian Communists Blame 'Separatists'

91UN0784A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 26 Jan 91 p 2

[Unattributed report on statement by Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee Bureau]

[Text] Having offered sincere and deep condolences to the families and loved ones of those who suffered on 13 January 1991, the Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee Bureau, on behalf of all communists of the republic, called on everyone to profoundly ponder and grasp what has happened. These events, the statement says, should become a lesson and a warning to the living, a reminder to all of the inviolability of the laws of general human accord and tolerance.

In analyzing the origins of the tragedy, the Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee Bureau stresses that Lithuanian separatists have created and are creating

an atmosphere of shameless anti-Sovietism and anticommunism, malice and hatred, lawlessness and violence, blackmail and provocations. Appeals for a direct armed struggle and bloodshed began to be heard from the lips of the highest-ranking officials of the totalitarian regime, including Landsbergis, through the mass media. During the days preceding the events of 13 January 1991 the inflammatory activities of the Supreme Soviet of the republic became hysterical in nature, creating an atmosphere of massive national psychosis, fear, and uncertainty. The situation came to border on the line beyond which events fraught with bloodshed should have unavoidably transpired.

Unfortunately, notes the document, the separatist leadership of Lithuania is not drawing civilized conclusions from the tragic incident which has occurred. It is mounting a slanderous campaign against the Communist Party of Lithuania through the Kaunas TV and radio station, newspapers, and a chain of its supporters in the cities and rayons of the republic, and is calling for persecuting and dealing with the communists, with all who favor the integrity of the Soviet Union and the restoration of Soviet constitutions in Lithuania.

The Communist Party of Lithuania Central Committee Bureau has come out with a sharp protest and a firm denunciation of the separatist forces which are behind the executors of the harsh anti-Soviet campaign, and has warned that a new wave of hysteria may bring about a new social explosion. The blame for this will devolve entirely and completely on the official state authorities and political circles which inspire the continuation of the campaign of violence in Lithuania.

Resolution Adopted on Lithuanian Russians, Poles

PM0502145791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Feb 91 p 1

[Report by correspondent V. Zarovskiy: "Lithuania: The Language of Agreement?"]

[Text] Vilnius—The other day the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution "On the Conclusions of the State Commission To Study East Lithuania," and also a law amending the "Law on National Minorities." Over to A. Shvelnis, deputy general director of the Nationality Affairs Department of the Lithuanian Republic Government.

"The resolution has been adopted on the basis of the conclusions of the commission on East Lithuania, and also of a working group which considered the proposals of Poles and Russians who live in large numbers in Vilnyusskiy, Shalchininskiy, Trakayskiy, Shirvintskiy, and Shvenchenskiy Rayons. The Lithuanian Council of Ministers is instructed to submit a draft admininstrative-territorial division to the legislature before 31 May 1991, which will also make provision for the establishment of a Vilnius district [uyezd] on the basis of Vilnyusskiy and Shirvintskiy Rayons. Moreover the commissions on citizens' rights, self-government affairs, and others must work out a status for this district. The Lithuanian Government is obliged to draw up a long-term higher education program for national minorities before 1 May 1991.

"As regards the 'Law on National Minorities,' substantial amendments have been introduced into it. For example, conditions have been created for opening kindergartens, schools, groups, faculties, and branches in higher educational establishments for learning specialist subjects in the native language. The use of the local language is permitted alongside the official Lithuanian language in enterprises, organizations, and areas densely populated by national minorities. This applies to both Poles and Russians. For the first time the budget makes provision for the needs of national communities, albeit as yet only around 900 thousand rubles, which is not very much."

According to my interviewee, the documents that have been adopted should not be seen as a reaction to the tragic events in Vilnius. I note, however, they were examined by the republic's legislature immediately after those events.

Anti-Army Leaflets Blamed on 'Provocateurs'

PM0502092791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Feb 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by Yevgeniy Solomenko under the "Direct Line" rubric: "'Anonymous Letters' From Provocateurs"]

[Text] Leningrad—In the past few days leaflets calling on people to murder soldiers involved in joint patrols with militiamen, blow up and set fire to armored troop carriers, and arm themselves...have appeared in the streets of Leningrad in the evenings. They bear the signature of the National Salvation Committee and the Free Democratic Party of Russia.

The leadership of the Leningrad branch of the Free Democratic Party of Russia has announced that it has absolutely nothing to do with these provocative "anonymous letters," and has sent an official statement to this effect to the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium and the Russian legislative Commission for Legality and Law and Order.

This provocation, the statement points out, may be aimed at two things: provoking the introduction of a state of emergency and starting proceedings against the Free Democratic Party of Russia, which is one of the initiators of the movement of civil opposition to the impending dictatorship. "We ask that in either event, on the authority of the Russian Supreme Soviet, an objective investigation into all circumstances be carried out."

We just have to add that no official statements have been made by the so-called National Salvation Committee. Incidentally nothing certain is known even about the existence of such a committee.

Freight Piles Up at Leningrad Train Stations

LD0202131291 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 2 Feb 91

[Summary] Over 27,000t of freight, nearly 4,000 medium-sized containers, and some 500 large ones are at Leningrad's railway stations, awaiting removal to warehouses. More than 900 rail cars have still to be unloaded. Local enterprises are doing nothing to remedy the situation. Factories are running short of materials. Goods are not reaching the shops.

Film on Moscow TV 'Glorifying' Black Berets

LD0502230191 Riga International Service in English 2130 GMT 5 Feb 91

[Text] Notorious Leningrad TV journalist Aleksandr Nevzorov has prepared a new documentary film glorifying the activities of the so-called Black Berets [Special Purpose Militia Unit] in Riga. The film is called "The Black Berets, or 18 Hours in Riga." Once again the Leningrad journalist tried to convince the spectators that the Black Berets are the only legal force that can protect civil residents in Latvia against nationalists. Today this film was shown on Central Moscow TV [local Moscow city television] as well.

Riga Airport 'Paralyzed' by Strike

LD0502203491 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1600 GMT 5 Feb 91

[Text] As we have already reported, the work of Riga Airport was paralyzed between 0900 and 1600 today. The airport's meteorological service was on strike. The cause of the strike was the nonpayment of wages and compensation. The last time these workers received their wages was in the middle of December. As Riga Airport's meteorological service is an enterprise of the USSR State Hydrometeorological committee, its operations and wages fund is being fully financed from the USSR budget. In order to end the strike, it was decided at discussions of the Latvian Council of Ministers to pay the money to the workers of the airport's meteorological service for the time being from the republic's reserve fund. Because of the strike 10 flights did not depart from Riga, and six flights did not arrive.

Danish Minister's Visit to Riga 'Signal'

PM0502102191 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 31 Jan 91 p 11

[RITZAUS BUREAU report: "Latvian Delight Over Visit"]

[Text] Riga—On Tuesday evening [29 January] Danish Fisheries Minister Kent Kirk (Conservative) was proudly met by his Latvian counterpart, Gunars Zakss, in the Baltic republic's tense capital, Riga. Kent Kirk is the first foreign fisheries minister to visit Latvia, which set up a fisheries ministry just last year.

"The Danish minister's visit will show Moscow that our rightful claims to independence are supported in the West. This is of inestimable importance," Gunars Zakss said.

Over the next three days he will hold talks with Kent Kirk to expand fisheries cooperation between Denmark and Latvia.

"We will strengthen the contacts which already exist between Latvia and Denmark and also discuss longer-term cooperation," Kent Kirk said. He makes no secret of the fact that his visit is also a political signal to the central government in Moscow. The two ministers will discuss fisheries and the environment in the Baltic Sea, the modernization of the Latvian fishing industry, and the development of cooperation with [the Danish Baltic island of] Bornholm, where Latvian fisherman last year landed around 7,000 tonnes of cod in return for payment in the form of electronic equipment.

At the talks Kent Kirk will urge Latvia to apply for some of the 100 million kroner which the Folketing is expected to grant in February for environmental projects in Eastern Europe.

"It is fantastically important that we safeguard the environment in the Baltic Sea so that fish stocks are not contaminated. That is something that consumers will not tolerate," Kent Kirk said.

Latvian Government's Policy Options Viewed

91UN0830A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 5, Feb 91 p 4

[Article by V. Savichev: "Latvia: What Is Behind the Events"]

[Text] **According to existing data, 60 percent of population of Latvia support their government.**

Freedom of Choice

Of all the residents of Latvia employed in industry, about 60 percent are representatives of the **Russian-speaking population.** The leadership of the Latvian Communist Party, demanding that power immediately be transferred to the Committee of Social Salvation, which is headed by communists, is counting on the support of exactly this category of workers. Their main argument is prices—they assert that the administration is unable to cope with increases in them.

In accordance with a concept of economic reform proposed by the cabinet of I. Godmanis, the main burden of payment of compensation is placed directly on the shoulders of the enterprises, even though far from all have the assets for that. It is freedom of choice: either reduce allotments for social development (meaning housing, kindergartens, etc.) or...repudiate the reforms and ask for subsidies from the center, which will have to be paid for with the sovereignty that still has not been achieved. To the degree that, as everyone knows, the

majority of those employed in industry are representatives of the Russian-speaking population, in essence a purely socioeconomic aspect of the problem has taken on a nationalist tone. A quite short visit to the republic is enough to convince one that society has become divided into supporters and opponents of real sovereignty. This is what determines the public's attitude toward the opposition minority in the legislature, the Latvian Communist Party, and the military, without any relation to their ethnic makeup.

The **military** is in a far worse position than the working class. Finding themselves materially and socially dependent on the local authorities and simultaneously subordinate to the central leadership, whose opinions in regard to the future of the Union diverge somewhat, the servicemen of the Baltic Military District have found themselves even more pinched. While one may argue over who summoned these forces here and whether or not they are "occupiers," one thing is certain: They are first and foremost people who demand observation of the most elementary rights—to housing and to employment, schools, and kindergartens for members of their families. Someone must resolve these problems. But it is completely understandable that the use of the military to defend the property of the CPSU and to interfere in the resolution of political issues will hardly increase the desire of the local authorities to help solve these problems.

The point of view of a Riga office worker, who is incidentally Russian, is curious. "I do not consider," she says "the unwillingness of the local authorities to register servicemen for a permanent place of residence to be discriminatory. It is instead an attempt to protect themselves from an influx of retirees, of whom there are already many in Latvia. Moscow and Leningrad refuse to register them, and they themselves do not wish to go to the Ukraine and Belorussia for well-known reasons—only the Baltic area remains."

When you see the price lists on the counters of the Riga stores, you are dumbfounded: The cheapest piece of boiled sausage is 9 rubles [R], meat is R20, butter is R10, cheese is R8, and a loaf of bread is R2! However, when you remember Moscow's stores, you wonder if there is sense in having low prices and not having the goods themselves. When the opposition in the Latvian legislature curses the administration of I. Godmanis endlessly and accuses it of incompetence, of conducting an anti-people policy, etc., one cannot help but ask the question: What, besides pinning all its hopes on the center, does the opposition propose?

And whom will our Russian-speaking countrymen rely on when new prices are introduced in Russia as well? With our universal disintegration and devastation, healing measures that are mild and cause no discomfort do not help any more, unfortunately—it is far too late for that. Despite all the severity of the policy of the Latvian prime minister, his actions, according to data of the local sociologists, are supported by about 60 percent of the republic's population, or 90 percent of the indigenous residents and 36 percent of the Russian-speaking residents.

The **public opinion rating** of the prime minister, as we see, is fairly high considering the present situation. A proposed reform of the system of compensation has greatly contributed to such an attitude on the part of the republic: Every month each worker receives R66, and R50 is handed out for every child. Those in the lowest-paid category of citizens—students and retirees—receive about R100 every month.

At present the legislature has suspended some laws infringing on the rights of servicemen and various sectors of the nonindigenous population. So the republic's legislature is working and demonstrating a certain flexibility in the resolution of society's controversial issues, which to a significant degree, as many believe here, is explained by the fairly subtle and thoughtful policy of A. Gorbunovs. Thus it is no accident that, according to the data of those same sociologists on 17 January, the activities of the republic's Supreme Soviet were fully supported by 68 percent of the population of Latvia: Among the local population—94 percent, and among the Russian-speaking population—41 percent.

However it would be a mistake to believe that there are no problems in the Latvian legislature. From one side it is being pressured by organizations fighting for Latvia for Latvians, among which are the Movement for Nation Independence of Latvia and the Congress of Citizens of the Republic of Latvia. On the other—the "Equal Rights" minority faction, which includes members of the Latvian Communist Party and representatives of Interfront, the OSTK [United Council of Labor Collectives], etc. Incidentally, for about a month representatives of this faction have not been attending the legislature to protest the erection of a barricade around it.

The Opposition

In his account of the recent meeting with the president of the USSR, the chairman of the Latvian Supreme Soviet passed on the opinion of M. Gorbachev to the effect that at the present time the republic is dominated not by democratic forces but by extremely radical forces, which are pulling society increasingly further toward continuous confrontation.

One of these forces, to all appearances, is the **All-Latvian Committee of Social Salvation,** which practically the entire opposition has joined. The committee is not homogeneous. The main forces represented in it are the Latvian Communist Party, representatives of labor collectives (Russian-speaking for the most part), as well as the military community. Resignation of the administration, the dismissal of the legislature, and Latvia within the USSR—these are, perhaps, the main demands of the committee, and they have been put forward at times in the form of an ultimatum. While the problems of the military and the workers are in principle resolvable, the position of the Latvian Communist Party, judging by the

attitude of the broadest segments of the population toward it, is hopeless. It is perfectly apparent that if the republic attains real and full sovereignty, the local Communist Party will have to not only leave the political arena but part with its property as well, which it has so far managed to hold with the aid of the "Black Berets." Therefore the implacability that the communists maintain is fully explicable.

Concerning another destabilizing force, one can only judge it by its actions: Organization of explosions, shooting of members of special-purpose military units, and distribution of lists of communists and other "enemies of the people" subject to physical extermination. So far neither the law enforcement organs nor the organs of the KGB have established the organization taking part in terrorist acts, not one perpetrator has been caught in the act, and not one piece of material evidence, in essence, has been presented.

For now the situation is normalizing. The leadership of the republic and society are preparing to conduct a republic-wide referendum, the results of which will determine the future of Latvia.

More on Baltic Party Leaders News Conference

PM0402101391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Jan 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent L. Levitskiy: "Positions of the Three Parties' Leaders"]

[Text] Tallinn—I. Kezbers, chairman of the Latvian Democratic Labor Party; A. Brazauskas, chairman of the Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party; and E.-A. Sillari, first secretary of the independent Estonian Communist Party; met in Tallinn to discuss the situation in the Baltic republics.

The meeting of the three parties' leaders ended with a news conference. Journalists were interested in three groups of problems. Primarily the causes of the crisis in the Baltic republics. The answers were similar in sense though different in tone and vocabulary. The most trenchant answer came from I. Kezbers. It is a plot by the center, a plot by the CPSU against the people's governments of the Baltic republics, he said. Events are developing according to the same scenario in all the republics, and furthermore it is a scenario produced by a single author. Admittedly, in part the scheme has failed.

I. Kezbers explained the reasons for the failure like this: Local CPSU organizations, strike committees, and groups of deputies misled the center when they promised the rapid collapse of the democratic forces. But Yeltsin, his team, and the Russian democrats supported the Baltics.

The second group of questions focused on mutual relations with the CPSU and its organizations in the republics and the role of the new leftwing parties in political life.

"The CPSU was never a party in the true sense. It was a ministry of propaganda and cadres," I. Kezbers believes.

"We unwittingly became the tool of an alien [chuzhoy] political force," A. Brazauskas stressed. "To prevent that we left the CPSU and then changed the party's name, program, and rules."

In Brazauskas' words, the Democratic Labor Party has no contacts with the CPSU or the Lithuanian Communist Party—except in the division of party property. In his opinion the Lithuanian Communist Party has no prospects, no future.

I. Kezbers thinks differently. He considers the Latvian Communist Party a considerable force with its own base, primarily in the labor collectives of Union enterprises.

"In certain conditions," E.-A. Sillari said, "the Estonian Communist Party could become part of the republic's political system."

The third range of questions was on the referendum. The party leaders' answers coincided again. A referendum, in A. Brazauskas' words, would be contrary to laws on the restoration of the independent state which have been adopted in Lithuania.

"Latvia has already voted for its statehood," I. Kezbers said in support, "and does not intend to become embroiled in referendums. But there will probably be a poll: Are you for a democratic autonomous [samostoyatelnyy] Latvia or not?"

In most of the answers the center and the CPSU were viewed as the most conservative and dangerous forces for the Baltics and the cause of all its present woes. But in the Estonian context, the talk of a single conspiracy and Moscow's guiding hand often seemed unconvincing. The waves of strikes in the republic demonstrate the opposite. They demonstrate the lack of a single plan or scenario, the absence of even an Estonian center guiding events. First major enterprises, ports, and freight stations in Tallinn went on strike. When the strikes began to fade away virtually all of Narva erupted and 20 enterprises stopped work. Judging from reports, they are only just discussing whether to strike or not in Kohtla-Jarve. Would a single center really permit such a fragmentation of forces?

In the opinion of an ever increasing number of politicians, the cause of the tension is not Moscow. It is in the political and economic laws adopted recently. Without them the appeals and "incitement" are hardly likely to have brought tens of thousands of workers out.

Estonian Legislature Debates Ties With Military

PM0502122391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Feb 91 First Edition p 3

[Report by Captain Third Rank V. Maryukha under "Direct Line" rubric: "Military Questions Aired in the Legislature"]

[Text] Tallinn, 31 Jan—Estonian Prime Minister E. Savisaar kept his promise and submitted for parliamentary discussion questions associated with the republic's attitude to having Soviet Army units on its territory. In his speech he stressed the need to decide on the status of servicemen and the right of young Estonian men to choose alternative (labor) service and to provide social guarantees for servicemen's families.

Savisaar stressed the need to distinguish between the Army as an instrument of policy and servicemen, who have specific rights as citizens. Therefore, while changing its attitude to the military, the legislature intends to reserve the right to demand information about the transfer and redeployment of military units in the republic and to consider the question of collecting payment for land which the Defense Ministry uses.

Although the adopted resolution does not resolve all problems, it represents a major step forward in normalizing mutual relations between the Army and the republic authorities.

RSFSR

Gorbachev Issues Decree on Moscow Affairs

LD0502152891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1250 GMT 5 Feb 91

[Text] Moscow, 5 Feb (TASS)—Guided by the USSR presidential decree "On further improving the administration of Moscow" the collegium of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs has suspended resolving the issue of releasing Lt. Gen. Petr Bogdanov from his post as chief of the Main Internal Affairs Directorate of the Moscow City Executive Committee, which he holds at the same time as being USSR Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs.

Thus, the issue of appointing Militia Major General Vyacheslav Komissarov, who was approved at a Moscow City Soviet session, to the post is also suspended until a USSR law on the status of Moscow as the capital of the USSR and the RSFSR is adopted. In accordance with current legislation, Petr Bogdanov has been instructed to continue to carry out his duties as head of the city's internal affairs bodies.

The Moscow Soviet's Standing Commission on Legality, Law and Order and Protecting Civil Rights decided to introduce to the staff the new boss whom they had selected. Although members of the commission arrived at the appointed hour today at the main entrance to the Main Internal Affairs Directorate, Vyacheslav Komissarov was not among them. He did not take part in the dubious procedure of "establishing dual power" in the city's militia.

The management at the Main Internal Affairs Directorate deemed it inexpedient to hold the meeting since in current conditions it could lead to destabilization amongst staff and that in turn would be reflected on the law and order situation and the campaign against crime in the city.

It is well known that General Petr Bogdanov was ousted, in the opinion of the deputies, because of the complicated crime situation in the capital. Nonetheless, a Moscow City Executive Committee decision dated 23 January awarded Petr Bogdanov a Moscow Soviet Executive Committee diploma and a month's extra pay for...fruitful work to strengthen public order in Moscow. The stable situation in the city was also noted in other Moscow City Executive Committee documents.

Thus, one is drawn to the conclusion that Petr Bogdanov was removed for political reasons—as the henchman of the party apparatus, despite the fact that the general was recommended for the post by Boris Yeltsin. The nominations put forward by the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Moscow City Executive Committee Main Internal Affairs Directorate were rejected on political grounds.

A desire to give a political coloring to everything connected with the post of chief of the Moscow Militia could also explain the aspiration of members of the legality commission to proclaim that "power has been seized".

Deputies Discuss Foreign, Domestic Policies

LD0502195291 Moscow TASS in English 1926 GMT 5 Feb 91

[By TASS legislative correspondents Pavel Ostrov and Yuriy Kozmin]

[Text] Moscow February 5 TASS—A bill on foreign investments in the Russian Federation was today discussed at a meeting of the Russian legislature Committee on International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations.

According to Sergey Tsyplakov, a co-author of the bill, the document's aim is "to give impetus to the economic development in our country" by inviting foreign investments.

The bill will be submitted to the current third session of the Russian legislature. "The adoption of the bill is only the first step," Tsyplakov noted. "In future we shall draft an extensive programme for foreign investments."

"Our bill conceptually is in tune with the all-Union legal act," Tsyplakov stressed. "We tried to coordinate them to prevent confrontation."

Russian legislature committees and commissions today examined both foreign and domestic policies. For instance, the Committee on Legislation discussed a bill on an investigative committee of the Russian Federation.

In an intereview with TASS, Committee Deputy Chairman Mikhail Mityukov said that this document "breaks ground for the future sweeping reform of law enforcement bodies".

The committee subordinated to the Russian legislature will unite the investigative bodies of the Interior Ministry, the KGB and the Procurator's Office. Thus, investigation will be separated from search operations.

This is the principal difference of the bill from present legislation.

The document was recommended for the consideration of the current session of the Republican legislature after some amendments were made.

It is planned to set up an organisational committee by midyear to form this body so as to prepare its structures in 1992.

General Tarasov Rejects Idea of Russian Army

LD0602134991 Moscow TASS in English 1320 GMT 6 Feb 91

[Text] Moscow February 6 TASS—"The Russian leadership's wish to have its own army bewilders most people," Lieutenant General Boris Tarasov, who is also a people's deputy of the Russian Federation, told TASS.

"The Russian leadership's idea can be understood in the light of its recent activities aimed to break the existing Union and create a union of states instead," the general said.

"Certainly, there will be no place for Soviet Armed Forces in such state formation. Thus, the question is connected with the very fate of our multinational state," he said.

"The Russian Defence and Security Committee will be an instrument for disorganising, weakening, and eliminating the Union Armed Forces," Tarasov believes. "Although the idea has not been pronounced, it is in the air."

"Personally, I am against such a committee or the creation of any ephemeral volunteer or other units," the general said. "I would support the creation of a national security committee. Russia is a sovereign state, and it has to resolve a number of issues that are not in the competence of the Union," Tarasov said.

"The issues include the safety of oil pipelines, forecasts of and protection from natural calamities, and combating phenomena encroaching on the nation's well-being and health," he said.

"Such a committee could take up regulating functions other than the activities of the Armed Forces. It could deal with allotting land for the Army and its use by the Army, involving Army units in public order protection and assistance in cleaning up the aftermath of natural calamities and in harvesting," the general said.

Procuracy Demands Prosecution of Deputy Tarasov

LD0602135691 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 6 Feb 91

[Text] It is reported from the country's procuracy that the USSR procurator general has asked the Russian Supreme Soviet to give its consent to the institution of legal proceedings against Artem Mikhaylovich Tarasov, a people's deputy from Russia, on charges in connection with the protection of the honor and dignity of the USSR president. You have no doubt read or heard the statement by Tarasov regarding the existence of a secret document on handing over to Japan four islands of the Kurile Ridge. [passage indistinct]

Tarasov on Political Forecast, Media Feud

LD0502223191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 4 Feb 91

[Interview with Artem Mikhaylovic Tarasov, Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic people's deputy and member of the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee, by correspondent Andrey Pishchayev in Moscow—live]

[Excerpts] [Pishchayev] First of all, the first question for Artem Mikhaylovich: Why has he come to television today? As far as I know, you were asked to speak on the evening edition of Television News Service [TSN] what was the reason for our coming here—and what turn have your relations with the Gostelerario [State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting] leadership taken today?

[Tarasov] The reason for my coming here, and for that proposal, is that a scandal is being stirred up in the press. I did not start it, and do not want to take part in it. The scandal is related to the fact that I made a forecast, gave my attitude, my estimation, of the development of the economic situation in the country, in Russia. This forecast was then presented in such a way as to make Gorbachev perceive it as a personal insult. Quite unexpectedly for me, an article suddenly appeared—it seems it was first discussed at the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee—in which Gorbachev states that if I do not offer public apologies, the case will be referred to the court; a court action will be started against my forecast. I have already spoken on Radio Rossii with public apologies, and said that I did not want to hurt Gorbachev personally.

But after that the press—PRAVDA and other newspapers—did not notice that statement, and continued to publish articles maintaining that Tarasov has failed to make this public statement, that he should be brought to book, that the case should be referred to the court, and so on. I asked TSN, referring to Gorbachev's demand, or proposal, to be allowed to speak there, and to make this public apology and explain the reason, naturally, the reason for my apology.

[Pishchayev] For those not in the know, I would like to clarify: The thing is that the KURANTY newspaper of 2 February carried the article (?"The Help the CPSU Is To Get From the East") by Artem Tarasov, which boils down to the following: our country plans such a deal as selling the Kurile Islands to Japan. In connection with this, Artem Tarasov gave his substantiation of this position of our leadership, and drew his conclusions on this matter. I would like to add an important detail. As far as I know, Artem Tarasov tried to appear in TSN today. So what of it?

[Tarasov] I not simply tried; I have spoken. I have addressed Gorbachev to the efect that I did not want to hurt him. I offered him apologies, and said that I think it not worthy of a president to sue anyone for forecasts that any person is entitled to make in the USSR and Russia, and regarding any subject, if we have democracy, pluralism, and glasnost. Moreover, I explained that Gorbachev had taken a stand on prompting special forces that would like to see such a court trial take place. Moreover, in this trial, if I win the case—and my victory is beyond doubt, because there is nothing to sue for—Gorbachev would lose his prestige in people's eyes even more. I explained that by acting in this way, it is precisely conservative forces that are trying to get rid of Gorbachev as president. Why? Because given the course toward curtailing perestroyka that they are taking, they do not need the author of perestroyka and democracy in our country as president.

So that was my apology, and an explanation of my position. Of course, I said that I reserve the right to make any kind of forecasts in the future, like any normal Soviet man, like a free man living in a free country.

Unfortunately, this address was banned, at Comrade Reshetov's instruction. They conferred for a very long time, and deemed it innopportune, or some other reasons were found. The reason has not been given to me. Comrade Reshetov even refused to talk with me on the telephone. He is a deputy chairman of Gosteleradio. Regrettably, Kravchenko could not be found anywhere. I tried to get through to him, to find out the reason, at least. [passage omitted]

[Pishchayev] Artem Mikhaylovich, I would like to know—many of our listeners are simply not keeping up with what has happened, or with the forecast you made. Could you tell us in a bit more detail about that forecast? One has to say that one could not learn anything from what TASS published.

[Tarasov] The fact is that as in the good—in inverted commas—old days of stagnation, when someone starts criticizing something here, what they are criticizing is not brought to people's attention, so that people have only the opinion of the bodies being criticized, and on which doubt is being cast. For that reason my forecast was of course not published anywhere except in KURANTY, which comes out in a limited run, in Moscow only.

What does the forecast consist of? This forecast is an analysis of the situation that arose—in my opinion, arose—after all the people in our Russia, in our country, suddenly felt that the policy was hardening, the policy was changing, that anti-market decrees, some sort of anti-market actions, were appearing, that tension was being created in relations with the West, in relations with the democratic countries. When all this appeared, this actually existing fact, some sort of explanation for what had happened was essential. So my forecast is an attempt, a possible explanation, as to why this is happening.

Indeed, if we are today suddenly giving up the kind of relations that have built up over the past few years with the democratic countries, where else can we look to? After all, it is clear that we will not get out of the economic crisis by ourselves. Of course I made the supposition that there will be a turn toward the East.

In the East we have a strong, powerful, flourishing neighbor—Japan. But relations with Japan under the Soviet Union are complicated, because of the lack of a solution to the territorial problem of the islands. So along comes the Japanese prime minister, he has long talks with our government and with Gorbachev, and then it is announced to all and sundry that this visit has been a new, historic milestone in solving the issues of relations between Japan and the Soviet Union. What conclusion is one bound to draw? This: that the territorial question was discussed and they found a solution. Then I analyze the situation in Japan itself, which has today lost its Persian Gulf oil market and is looking intently toward us. Today they are being squeezed by Korea with its technology. Today the dollar, having fallen in value on the U.S. market, has in effect undermined purchasing ability for Japanese goods on that market. Today investments in U.S. real estate have been lost.

I describe this in detail, and recall a certain statement made last year after the visit of our government delegation to Japan, when the question of the islands was also discussed, and the figure of 200 billion [currency not specified] of investment was mentioned, which Japan is today in a position to invest in the Soviet economy if the islands are handed over to the ownership of the Japanese, to whom they belong anyway. Naturally this is more advantageous than the investments of some $16-20 billion being made by Western countries.

This is more advantageous—this is all the good side of the forecast—but the forecast has negative aspects, too, for democracy, for us, for free enterprise. I build my further discussion on the fact that it would be much more stable for Japan to invest in a one-party system if we had a one-party system in our country. Why? Because historically a single ruling party has always ruled Japan, and because Japanese technology and Japanese business practices require the strictest discipline, which can only be provided by a state with a disciplinarian bent. Then I draw the conclusion that the kind of free enterprise that

is developing here is just not in the Japanese style, which means it is not what is wanted. What then is surprising is that the recent decrees and recent actions that everyone now is calling anti-democratic, anti-constitutional, and so on and so forth, are indeed, in my opinion, aimed at cleaning up the situation to a degree where the Japanese could invest this capital without hindrance.

What does this mean? This is a fight against our own free market, because the recent decrees of the president—for example, the decree agaisnt sabotage—is...[changes thought] I am not against this decree, although I am already accused of being against it. We must fight against sabotage on the railways, in state enterprises, but what kind of sabotage can there be in a cooperative? A cooperative opens and closes. A cooperative comes out on strike - that means it is hurting itself, in its own pocket. Sabotage in a cooperative is impossible by definition, and that is why I say that this decree is directed not really at fighting sabotage, but rather at fighting cooperatives and free enterprises.

[Pishchayev] There was indeed an item in today's "Vremya"—you probably saw it—about the activity of your Istok association, which showed apparently compromising testimonies on financial wrongdoing by the association itself. What have you to say about this?

[Tarasov] This crime story, which started—let us say coincided—with the start of this forecast—I do not want to connect the two things. It seems to me that it is simply a coincidence. I have never said in print that this criminal story could be a revenge for my forecast by the government, as the papers have said. This is another lie that they are publishing. It is not true.

Nevertheless, the crime story, in which one of the workers in the organization, in one of the organizations of the Istok association, is involved—the Istok association contains 45 organizations—so in one of them one of the workers was involved in a criminal case. But this has made it possible today to accuse me directly in connection with this criminal case. What is more, the relevant bodies have already carried out a number of operations, and although it was stated today that all of this was done within the law, I doubt that this is the cae, and have simply sent my protests as a deputy to different bodies. Incidently, the last protest was signed by practically all the members of the Committee on Legislation of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR—the RSFSR [corrects himself]—who agreed that sufficient grounds are required to carry out these actions.

My position is this. First, neither the press, and certainly not the television, have the right to call any person a criminal while a case is still under investigation, while he still enjoys the presumption of innocence, while he is still protected under the constitution. This is being done today on television, and I know that tomorrow in the press an article is coming out in PRAVDA that accuses me, and a lot of other people, in so many words of being criminals. Before the investigation is finished. The way the investigation is being conducted violates the most basic norms. Even so this article is appearing in PRAVDA. It was carried by TASS, unsigned, only for PRAVDA, and tomorrow people will read yet another lie and invention about me, about our association, and about everything else.

I am happy to await the results of the investigation, the results of the court accusations, if such a thing comes to pass. If I am accused of some sort of financial irregularities, feel free, do an audit according to all the rules. I am used to it. I am not afraid of audits. As a result of the audit there will be a document that will say whether there were or were not any financial violations. But how can financial violations be judged by a person employed—the person employed there was a member of the criminal investigation raiding body? He is not a specialist.

[Pishchayev] You know, one can see a link of a kind between your article in the press—I mean your article, you remember ("The Help the CPSU Is To Get From the East")—and the attempts to hold an audit of your association. It seems to me that there is a link of a kind here, a sort of peculiarity of the pressure on cooperatives. In your opinion, what is the most important thing in the start of this campaign? And why did it start with you?

[Tarasov] Well, first of all, I cannot assert that there is a link, that there is a real link between these two events. It seems to me that it is a coincidence in time, because I do not dispose of enough grounds and fact to make such assessments. On the contrary, in the case with Japan I had enough grounds and facts to make them. This is the first thing. The second thing—why have they started with me? Because it is natural to start with me if the task of curtailing market-type structures in Russia and the Soviet Union has been set. They have to be curtailed because they are not needed for the new course that has been chosen. Of course, if such a task has been set, I was the first in line: if I fall, if they manage to bring me down, that will spell an end to a huge number of joint enterprises, cooperatives, and other different non-state forms and, in general, an end to those people who have gone to work there, and end to their families' sources of income. One could say that that would be an end to the lie that has been disseminated to the effect that we were developing a market economy. This is what frightens me, therefore, of course—but it is impossible to bring me down, because the Istok association, which is today carrying out Russian state programs, is an absolutely pure association. We have not committed any violations. We are not liable for the obligations of those enterprises that make up our association, no more than they are liable for Istok's obligations.

[Pishchayev] You know, concluding our conversation, I would like to ask you a question regarding your article. The thing is that at the end of your article you make a reference to the following assumption: allegedly, if this large-scale attack on democracy in our country continues, this attack by dictatorship, then a possibility of the Soviet Union's participation in the Persian war, in

the Persian crisis, on Iraq's side will become obvious. What were you guided by in adopting such a view?

[Tarasov] First of all, I was guided by the fact that, if you have noticed, the latest reportages on hostilities in the Persian Gulf have been quite sympathetic toward Iraq, as it were, and the position has obviously changed. Somehow, Iraq is no longer presented as an aggressor. When I spoke about participation, of course I did not mean a direct participation—as today nobody, perhaps, can send our lads to die in those sands in Arabia. But arms supplies could quite possibly be resumed. Why? Because, returning once again to my forecast—admit for a minute that my forecast is correct, and if it is correct—this is quite a possible thing, because Iraq will pay quite profitable prices today. Iraq has been fostered by...[changes thought] That Saddam Husayn is, on the whole, a man who has been nourished by our Soviet Union through supplies, invitations, splendid attitude, support, and so on.

[Pishchyagin] So it looks as if our leadership is going to solve its internal problems this way?

[Tarasov] I repeat that this is my assumption. Do not agree with it; after all, it was made at the end of the forecast, if the forecast is justified. I wrote that then I would not be surprised by the above fact, if it emerges suddenly. This is the point. [passage omitted]

Media Official on Radio Rossii 'Banishment'

LD0502162291

[Editorial Report] Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 1100 GMT on 5 February carries a five-minute report by correspondent Andrey Zuyev at the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] House of the Soviets, where the RSFSR Supreme Soviet is sitting in commissions and committees. He states that he visited the Committee for the Mass Media, where deputies approved the statement by the RSFSR Ministry for the Press and the Mass Information on the decision to prohibit Radio Rossii from broadcasting on the Mayak frequency. He plays back an interview with Mikhail Aleksandrovich Fedotov, deputy minister for press and mass information. Fedotov says that his ministry has already expressed its view on the banishment of Radio Rossii from the Mayak channel in a sufficiently precise manner in its statement.

He speaks about his visit to the USSR Journalists' Union congress this morning—many deputies there demanded that the issue of the recall of USSR people's deputy Kravchenko be included on the agenda. It was decided to include on the agenda the issue of the political attitude of Leonid Kravchenko toward the USSR law on the press and other mass media.

Fedotov states that in the ministry's view the banishment of Radio Rossii is an encroachment on the sovereignty of the Russian Federation and a crude violation of the USSR law on the press and other mass media. Zuyev reminds listeners that Fedotov was one of the people who helped draw up the press law. Fedotov cites an article in the law which states that decisions such as the one made banning Radio Rossii from broadcasting on Mayak should be made by the law courts—it was taken here by USSR Gosteleradio. In the light of this, Fedotov asks which procuracy body would be prepared to prosecute journalists breaking the ban.

Report on RSFSR Soviet Voting Challenged

91UN0802A Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 29 Jan 91 First Edition p 2

[Article by N. Garifullina: "Jupiter, Are You Angry?"]

[Text] Speaking in the words of our beloved national poet, "a horrible cataclysm occurred": A bloc of communists declared a boycott, and not just against anyone, but against the Russian legislature. We learned of this with amazement after reading reviews yesterday in the ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA about the third session of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet. After reporting about the fact that "two days of the plenary meetings were in vain," with which, by the way, we have to agree, the newspaper placed the blame for this on the deputy group "Communist Russia," which, they say, did not go for a compromise in the adoption of the decree according to the report of B.N. Yeltsin. It there and then made a slip, "in vain?" "At least, the 'Communists of Russia' showed their face."

Well, we will return to this, but for the time being we will go over the text somewhat. Every line here is a discovery. Thus, it is asserted that on the second day the draft resolution "On the Political Situation in the Country" was adopted as a basis. This, to put it mildly, is a small untruth: It was not adopted inasmuch as it only got 47 percent of the votes.

It reports further: "This (i.e., 'long debates' in which the 'communist group was especially unappeasable'—N.G.) continued until Deputy D. Volkogonov spoke.... After his speech, the hall voted for a paragraph-by-paragraph discussion of the draft." This is also not true: The voting for a paragraph-by-paragraph adoption of the draft was before and not after Deputy Volkogonov's speech. Incidentally, only 49 percent of the deputies expressed themselves for a paragraph-by-paragraph vote.

Two words about the draft. Why, nonetheless, did many deputies vote against? Is it not because there are positions that are anticonstitutional and contradict not only existing Union and Russian laws, but also the Declaration on State Sovereignty, which was adopted at the First Congress of People's Deputies. For example, the draft proposes: "To accelerate the development and adoption of laws concerning the Army and the KGB." How is this to be understood? The Declaration on Sovereignty states unequivocally that the Army is a prerogative of the Union. Indeed, on the first day of work of the session, B.N. Yeltsin dissociated himself from his statement at a

news conference after his return from the Baltics to the effect that Russia has to establish its own army. R.I. Khasbulatov also repeatedly assured the deputies that it was necessary to confirm the declaration in the part concerning the army. But this is in passing.

"The faction 'Communist Russia,' taking advantage of the absence of a number of deputies, was able to kill the adoption of the decree," ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA sums up, and there and then publishes the results of the paragraph-by-paragraph voting. We read them, and we were delighted for the umpteenth time: Well, we do not have a Supreme Soviet, but a real wonderland. I have already had occasion to write about its "little stratagems," when a deputy appears on the roster of those signed up for speeches who at the time is in another hemisphere, but it remains a mystery to me how many of the deputies were able to vote from different cities. This is either a miracle of technical progress, or there are beings from other planets here. From the deputies who allegedly voted "for," S.N. Andreyev was in Altayskiy Kray, A.A. Aslakhanov was in the North Caucasus, and M.B. Mukubekov was in Kalmykia. Absent from the meeting were V.N. Lotkov and Yu.I. Semukov.

Deputies V.I. Sevastyanov and A.I. Khutyz were also not present at the meeting and, naturally, they could not vote, but the newspaper indicates their names on the "against" list.

This column is also in the table: "Present but not voting." I read the list. Oh! That is a nice thing! V.A. Agafanov is on holiday, legislators I.A. Bezrukov, V.D. Mazayev, Yu.D. Rudkin, and O.I. Tiunov are performing an important mission all the way in the United States, and V.I. Khubiyev is in Karachayevo-Cherkesia. But when I got to the name of Cosmonaut Musya Manarov, who is now flying in outer space, there was no end to my delight. I think that here our legislature has surpassed all parliaments in the world. Let a U.S. Congressman or a member of the British House of Lords try to vote from outer space. They will not be able to do it!

Indeed, those are real miracles! As for the assertion that supposedly the "Communists of Russia" showed their face, then one can clearly see in the publication ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA the face not only of this official publication of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, but that of the publisher himself. Jupiter, are you angry?

Deputies, Union Leader Continue Moscow Talks

LD0202161591 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 2 Feb 91

[Text] A meeting between a group of Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] people's deputies and the leader of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia is in its second day in Moscow. Participants in the meeting are convinced that the unique advantages of the trade unions should be used and that all ambitions should be put aside to unite people of different political views for the mutual task of defending the social and economic rights of the people of Russia. RSFSR People's Deputy Vladimir Anokhin underlined that laws are being adopted but are not implemented, which is why the help of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions is necessary, so that the laws are explained and are implemented throught its local organizations, the work collectives.

Silayev Speaks at Farm Association Congress

LD0202231191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1534 GMT 2 Feb 91

[Text] Moscow, 2 Feb (TASS)—The second congress of the Association of Peasant [private] Farms and Agricultural Cooperatives of Russia [AKKOR] began its work today at the Russian House of Soviets. Chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers Ivan Silayev, in addressing those assembled, said that the rebirth of the Russian countryside is under way thanks to the development of the private farming movement. This results from the spread of various forms of ownership in land management, including private ownership.

A report by Vladimir Bashmachnikov, president of AKKOR, stressed that there are some 4,000 small agricultural cooperatives based on family and voluntary associations now operating in the republic. In these and the family peasant farms together, a total of around 50,000 people now work. Tens of thousands of farmsteads are turning into farms producing marketable commodities, providing a main rather than a supplementary source of income for the families running them.

Kabardino-Balkaria Claims Republic Status

PM0502141991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Feb 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by Ali Kazikhanov under the rubric "Direct Line": "Step Toward Sovereignty"]

[Text] Nalchik—Kabardino-Balkaria has revoked its autonomy status: A session of the republic Supreme Soviet held in Nalchik adopted the Declaration of State Sovereignty of the Kabardino-Balkar Soviet Socialist Republic.

This is a long-awaited event: For several months now in the autonomous republic drafts of the declaration have been discussed ardently, since what lay ahead was the resolution of the question which perhaps concerns people most of all, that of true statehood, not the statehood imposed from above many decades ago.

The session adopted a decision to form two chambers within the Supreme Soviet: the Soviet of the Republic and the Soviet of Nationalities.

Under the declaration the state languages on the new Union republic's territory are declared to be Kabardinian, Balkarian, and Russian. The unfettered development and use of the languages of other peoples' living in

the Kabardino-Balkar Soviet Socialist Republic are guaranteed. The new Union republic independently resolves all question of state and social life, "with the exception of those transferred voluntarily and on the basis of treaties to the jurisdiction of the USSR and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]."

For the first time a statement is made about the "return of fellow countrymen living abroad to their historical homeland." The aim is also set of creating a nuclear-free zone on the soil of Kabardino-Balkaria.

The declaration will serve as a basis for elaborating a new Kabardino-Balkar Soviet Socialist Republic constitution, improving local legislation, and participating in the preparation and conclusion of the Union Treaty and treaties with the RSFSR and other republics.

Leningrad Soviet Sets Up Emergency Committee

PM0502091791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jan 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by Yevgeniy Solomenko under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Another Leningrad City Soviet Committee"]

[Text] Leningrad—The Leningrad City Soviet Presidium has approved a statute on an Emergencies Committee and named the committee's personnel.

As stipulated in the statute on the committee, "actions to eliminate the consequences of sociopolitical and interethnic conflicts and mass disorder do not come under the authority of the Emergencies Committee." The new organ is intended to control possible emergencies of quite another kind: accidents, natural disasters, large-scale environmental damage, epidemics, and so on. V. Shcherbakov, first deputy chairman of the Leningrad City Soviet, has been made head of the committee.

The presidium's decision will be submitted for ratification at the next Leningrad City Soviet session.

Unloaded Trains Accumulate on Perm Oblast Lines

LD0402163791 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 4 Feb 91

[Text] Here is a sharp signal sent to us by our correspondent in Perm. More than 1,500 trains loaded with coal, fertilizers, metal, cement, and other cargo have accumulated on railroad trunk lines accessing enterprises in the West Urals. Far fewer trains are unloaded daily than should be according to plan. Trains have to wait from two to five days to be unloaded.

This situation is, first and foremost, taking place with the Agroprom enterprises. But machinery constructors are not far behind in this. For this year alone, 1.2 million rubles in fines have been recovered for trains left unloaded. But this year, as last year, Perm Oblast has prepared poorly for the winter season. The low level of organization of labor during night shifts, and the lack of mechanization for unloading trains, are among the many reasons for such a situation.

Russia, Belorussia, Ukraine Sign Food Accords

LD0202101991 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Excerpt] A delegation from the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic government returned to Moscow today from Minsk. Acting on instructions from the republic's extraordinary commission on food supplies, the delegation's first task was to investigate the reasons for the shortfall in supplies from Russia's own oblasts. It then went on to the Ukraine and Belorussia, where protocol agreements were signed. Russian cities should shortly be receiving food supplies from those republics. [passage omitted]

Supreme Soviet Weekly Begins With Trial Issue

LD0302205391 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 3 Feb 91

[Text] A trial issue of the Russian legislature's weekly paper has come out today. It is called ROSSISKIYE VESTI [RUSSIAN NEWS]. A speech by Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers, is published on the first page. In this issue there is also the subject of how Russia should be organized. Igor Nitin and Mikhail Delyagin share their personal criticisms on this.

The feature "Arkhivi Vremeni" [Archives of the Time] opens with a selection of portraits of ministers who were running Russia on the eve of the First World War. This is the history of the Russian state system through characters, fates, and documents.

A whole two pages are given over to "Semeyniye Vechera" [Family Evenings], which is both an account of the household first aid box and other pieces of advice, just in case. [sentence as heard]

North Caucasus Regional Paper Published

PM0102141591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Feb 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by unnamed correspondent: "Return of KAVKAZSKIY KRAY"]

[Text] After a 74-year break, the regional Russian newspaper KAVKAZSKIY KRAY has started to be published in a print run of 100,000. Its creative collective sees one of the main aims of its publication as the revelation of the "blank spots" in the sometimes tragic history of the peoples of the North Caucasus, your IZVESTIYA correspondent reports from Pyatigorsk.

Western Republics

Issues in Wake of Crimean Autonomy Vote Analyzed

91UN0771A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
22 Jan 91 Union Edition p 3

[Article by IZVESTIYA staff correspondent V. Filippov: "Residents of the Crimea Have Voted in Favor of Autonomy"]

[Text] **More than 81 percent of those on the rolls of the electorate—1,441,019 residents of the peninsula—took part in a referendum held on 20 January; 1,343,855 people (more than 93 percent) voted in favor of restoring the Crimean ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] as a subject of the USSR and a party to the Union treaty. The future autonomous entity is viewed as a multinational one—it will be based on the primacy of human rights rather than any one of the peoples residing in the Crimea.**

In addition to the all-Crimea referendum, the residents and servicemen of Sevastopol also held their own referendum. More than 90 percent of them voted in favor of granting Sevastopol, as the main base of the Black Sea Fleet, the status of a city reporting to the Union and the Republic. This decision is dictated by their alarm at persistent attempts to drag the armed forces apart into "ethnic quarters."

The Crimean ASSR is the first state in our history to be proclaimed by the people themselves rather than on behalf of the people. There was virtually no difference between the referendum and voting in the elections of people's deputies. The central (oblast), city, and rayon commissions were formed, as well as precincts for secret voting with between 20 and 3,000 residents 18 years or older. Everyone who came to his precinct (definitely with a passport based on which the TsDZhZ [expansion not identified] made a mark on the list) received a ballot with the following text: "Are you in favor of restoring the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic as a subject of the USSR and the Union treaty? Yes. No." Only the ballots on which one of the two alternate answers was scratched were recognized to be valid. The referendum lasted from 0700 to 2000 hours; representatives of the public enjoyed free access to the precincts.

However, some of the residents of Crimea voiced their attitude toward autonomy even prior to 20 January. Those who left the Crimea on business or leave on the eve of the referendum were given this right. Students, sailors, those going on business trips, and... militiamen dropped their ballots into the ballot boxes ahead of time. This had to do with all units of the Simferopol militia deciding to vote on the previous day in order not to be distracted from performing their service duties on 20 January. This was a wise action, given that in the two months preceding the referendum rallies and pickets boiled over in the Crimea as never before. They expected vigorous action by the opponents of the referendum on 20 January, as well; however, the day turned out peaceful. I saw the last "political teach-in" on the square in front of the oblast executive committee on Saturday: A young man surrounded by about 50 idlers tried heatedly and unsuccessfully to convince a patient militia major that a general vote was unnecessary.

Unfortunately, those who disagreed with the position of the oblast soviet that decided to hold a referendum could voice their views openly only at rallies, in informal publications with insignificant circulation, and in handbills. This is what G. Chernysh, a deputy of the oblast and Simferopol city soviets, deputy director of the "Biotechnology" Research Center, said:

"I gave five of my articles to oblast newspapers, but they failed to print a single one. I insist that the decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, dated 19 February 1954, on transferring the Crimea from the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] to the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] needs to be repealed. It is necessary to return to Lenin's decree of 1921 when the multinational autonomous Crimean Republic within the RSFSR was created. Meanwhile, organizers of the referendum do not want the 1954 decree to be revised, and are prompting the people to ratify by their votes, giving a gift of the Crimea to the Ukraine. This is why newspapers subordinated to the party oblast committee refused to publicize my position."

Following a conversation with G. Chernysh, I leafed through Crimean newspapers. Indeed, publications with a critical look at autonomy were few and far between. Frankly, this lopsidedness of propaganda alarmed me. If the discussion were open to various points of view, the people could evaluate the pros and cons of the future "independent cruise" by the Crimea and prepare, at least mentally, for economic and social problems and burdens that are unavoidable in a period of emerging statehood. Under the circumstances, will the people, lulled to sleep by the glorification of forthcoming benefits, direct their anger at the organizers of the referendum as soon as it becomes necessary to tighten their belts? After all, it will be very difficult for a sovereign Crimea to survive without its own fuel and energy facilities and given a shortage of sweet water.

...On 20 January at noon, I visited the central commission for holding a referendum. They were discussing the course of voting at that very moment: From among those on the rolls, 45.8 percent had already voted, and 75 out of 1,416 precincts had even completed their operation. Along with the residents of the Crimea, visitors also had a say in its future. In one of the precincts, the Greek Vladimir Tselio dropped his ballot into the box; he lives in Nizhniy Tagil, but he wants to come back to his native area, the Crimea, like hundreds of thousands of Germans, Bulgarians, Armenians, Karaites, and Crimean Tatars banished from here by a stroke of Stalin's pen. A session of the oblast soviet gave all those deported from the Crimea the right to participate in the referendum. Obviously, only very few were able to come. Not one of the organizers of the referendum counted on a massive

pilgrimage to begin with. This is why the oblast soviet appealed to the Supreme Soviets of the RSFSR, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kirghizia, where most of the deportees live at present, with a request to help organize a referendum among them. Unfortunately, the leadership of Russia kept silent, and other republics sent in their refusals.

Village of Donskoye, after 1500: The festively decked auditorium of the rural soviet was crowded, but it turned out that they were members of the precinct commission. Where were the voters?

Commission Chairman N. Gomenyuk, chief agronomist of the imeni Lenin kolkhoz [collective farm], explained: "Almost everyone has already voted, except for the Crimean Tatars. There are 74 of them in our village. We went to them and invited them to the referendum, but no, they do not want to vote."

"If I may ask, what did you personally vote for?"

"For the republic. We will live affluently and peacefully, if we become independent."

Indeed, according to preliminary calculations, an autonomous entity with a coequal contractual system of economic operations holds out the promise of almost doubling the budget of the Crimea to 1.3 billion rubles [R]. At the same time, the assertion of the new status will obviously be accompanied by radical sociopolitical changes. Not everything is clear about how the Crimea is to go on living "in the human community of ours." This is why I approached party oblast committee Second Secretary L. Grach, one of the initiators of the referendum and a member of the central commission for holding it, with the question that used to cause the sharpest and angriest controversy at the rallies:

[Filippov] What are the relations of an autonomous Crimea with the Ukraine going to be?

[Grach] We should proceed from legal realities. I mean the treaty between the RSFSR and the Ukrainian SSR on the inviolability of the current borders dated 19 November 1990. Is it worthwhile to become involved in redrawing them while restoring the Crimean ASSR? Will we really become qualitatively new if we join Russia? I believe that everything will depend on the concept of the Union treaty. In its present form, it grants the rights of subjects to two types of state entities: both Union and autonomous republics. It has to do with us having rights equal to those of other sovereign republics. However, in any event, we will not sever the ties to the Ukraine that we have. We need to preserve our commonwealth; we have no right to split it.

[Filippov] Which republic party organization do the Communists of the sovereign Crimea intend to join?

[Grach] We see nothing wrong with staying in the Communist Party of the Ukraine and thus belonging to the CPSU. After all, Communists may unite irrespective of state entities. Incidentally, I do not see a problem with any other political movement from this point of view.

[Filippov] What is your view of the current situation in the Crimea?

[Grach] Much to our regret, the referendum has not brought about consolidation...

In the village of Donskoye, I visited the farmstead of Osman Osmanov. He is a Communist; during the war, he commanded a battery of antiaircraft guns, and was awarded 15 orders and medals. At present, he is retired.

[Filippov] How has your life been in the village, Osman Mustafayevich?

[Osmanov] I have lived here for almost 20 years, and I have not heard an unkind word from my fellow villagers.

[Filippov] Why then did you refuse to take part in the referendum?

O. Osmanov exploded: "Because great-power chauvinists are killing us morally! We demand the restoration of a national autonomous unit, and they accuse us of extremism. In 1945, we were robbed of our assets, and now they want to rob us by means of the referendum of our hope to restore the Crimean-Tatar state. They promise us rights equal to those of other peoples. I do not believe these promises!.."

I am afraid that the uneasiest days of the Crimea are still to come. Yuriy Osmanov, a leader of the national movement of Crimean Tatars, a prudent engineer, tried to persuade me that they will defend their interests solely by parliamentary methods because all destabilization makes prospects for a resolution of the Crimean- Tatar issue catastrophically worse. However, Mustafa Dzhemilev, the leader of the Organization of Crimean-Tatar National Movement, whose program is short on compromises, is becoming increasingly popular among those who have returned to the Crimea. The demand for a national autonomous unit has become harsher and acquired anticommunist overtones since the organization established contacts with the Ukrainian Republican Party, the Rukh [Ukraine People's Movement for Perestroyka], and the Democratic Union. For example, an appeal to boycott the referendum was justified by the need to frustrate "the perfidious plans of the partocratic mafia that strives to create its own private domain in the Crimea" in a flyer signed by all of these organizations.

Of course, life will separate the wheat from the chaff. I knock on wood, wishing the newborn Crimean Republic the avoidance of big quarrels.

Moldovan CP Plenum Replaces First Secretary

LD0502000991 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 4 Feb 91

[Text] A plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldova has been held in Kishinev to

examine organizational issues. In connection with the election of Luchinskiy as secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, he has been relieved of his duties as first secretary of the Central Committee of the Moldovan Communist Party.

Grigoriy Isidorovich Yeremey, a Central Committee member, a USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, and chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions in Moldova, has been elected first secretary of the Central Committee of the republic's Communist Party by secret ballot.

Moldovan President Deplores Economic Policy

91P50083A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 31 Jan 91 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Moldova: Economic Crisis"]

[Text] Moldovan President Mircha Snegur sharply criticized the republic government's economic policy. He reported that comparing 1990 with the previous year, national income fell by 6.6 percent and production of agricultural produce was 12 percent lower.

The republic has never before witnessed such a perceptible failure of industrial and housing construction programs. Snegur raised the question of forming the necessary structures to guarantee more strict discipline and control.

Moldovan Party Unity Endorsed

91UN0831A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 31 Jan 91 p 2

[Article by correspondent V. Okunev under the rubric: "At a Political Crossroads": "The Communist Party of Moldova: They Voted for Unity"]

[Text] Republic of Moldova—It has already become commonplace to assert that the formulas of many republic party organizations are experiencing a difficult situation. But it is very likely that the Communist Party of Moldova never experienced such pressure from the right and the left. Such complex processes are occurring in it now that never occurred before. We will say only that literally on the eve of the republic party conference, 10 public-political cultural and professional organizations of Moldova united in a National Alliance for Independence imeni 16 October. And on the day of the conference, representatives of this alliance picketed the building where the delegates assembled. The slogans with which the picketers came repeated the slogans of the great national assembly that was held on 16 December. They were all suffused with ignorant anticommunism and rejection of the Union treaty.

I spoke with several of the more sober activists of the alliance. It is not difficult to understand why they think that the Communist Party of Moldova is a great force. And in order to push it aside more easily from public-political life, they united as an anticommunist host.

Does the Communist Party of Moldova realize that it is one of the most influential parties in the republic? According to the report "On the Political Activity of the Central Committee and the Practical Tasks of the Communist Party of Moldova" of P. Luchinskiy, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Communist Party of Moldova Central Committee, it does realize this. But the political struggle has become more acute. The Communist Party and its Central Committee are being subjected to attacks from all sides.

Assuming as its foundation concern for perestroyka, the idea of civic peace, individual rights, and other democratic values, it is the Communist Party of Moldova that invited dozens of parties and formations of Moldova to a dialogue. Twenty-six of them sat at a "roundtable" and held a discussion concerning three main questions: They gave an estimate of the situation in the republic; they considered the role of "people's diplomacy" in the civic peace movement; and they expressed themselves on the draft Union treaty and civic consensus, and agreed to convene a congress of the people of Moldova. This meeting was concluded with an important initiative—the proposal to create, under the president of the republic, a permanent council of representatives of parties, movements, and organizations that are active in Moldova.

Yes, a dialogue is necessary. It is another matter whether it will always be possible to make contact. The efforts of the Communist Party to achieve cooperation, it was noted in the report, are as a rule torpedoed by the People's Front of Moldova. The speaker dissociated himself from the accusation of compromise with the People's Front. It was the Communist Party of Moldova that was the first to notice the extremely dangerous tendencies in the development of this movement. After the great national assembly of 16 December 1990 conducted by the People's Front, this movement showed that it is striving to assume the role of supreme ruler of the destiny of the republic and to stand above the legally elected organs of authority, including above the legislature.

The Communist Party of Moldova Central Committee was the first to sound the alarm, and it called for the vigilance of communists and all citizens of the republic, announcing in the press that the claims of the People's Front of Moldova to be above everyone amount to political intrigue, which runs counter to the Constitution and laws of the SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] of Moldova. This opens the way for a new dictatorship, violence, intolerance toward different thinking, and the creation of a new totalitarian regime.

After this, torrents of abuse poured forth on the Communist Party on the part of the People's Front of Moldova. These attacks are coming as if from a foreign

country. But another problem also lies in wait for the Communist Party: the lack of unity in its own ranks. The conservative platform was called the most dangerous at the conference. Its supporters accuse the Communist Party of Moldova Central Committee of a lack of position and compromise with the People's Front. Most of the rebuffs of this kind are coming from left-bank communists who recognize only their own correctness. It is no accident that G. Marakus, first secretary of the Kamenskiy Rayon Party Committee of the Communist Party of Moldova, expressed this point of view:

"The Communist Party of Moldova was only preserved as a party due to the position of the communists of the left bank."

There is a group of communists who united on the basis of the Democratic Platform. True, there are not many of them, and they are likely setting up a group because it is fashionable. For the time being the Democratic Platform has not done anything constructive in the life of the Communist Party of Moldova. And the performance of its representatives consisted of a proposal of general measures with an anti-Leninist spirit.

A more serious alarm was noted in the report and in the speeches; they evoke a quitter attitude inside the party itself. We will say only that last year 25,000 persons left voluntarily or were expelled from the Communist Party of Moldova; that is, 13 percent of its membership. What is the problem? Various reasons were given at the conference: a sense of uncertainty in the future, and the storm of criticism and dirty attacks that fell on the party.

It seems to us that there is one more reason: a certain rigidity in the party committees. And although for a short period many new people came to the posts of secretaries of party committees (in half a year there was a change of 22 first secretaries of gorkoms [city party committees] and raykoms [rayon party committees] alone), the style of work of many remains the same as previously. Perhaps the breathing of the organizations became quieter and actions became more timid under the pressure of People's Front groups. Because you cannot brush aside volunteers with metal rods in their hands with just paper declarations of protest. That may be why some raykoms are shrinking like shagreen leather in numbers of staff members and in positions. Now a different raykom of the Communist Party of Moldova occupies just several small rooms in its own very large building. Thus, it will not be long before going underground. And it is absolutely not warranted when party committees reconcile themselves to losses of up to half their membership and consider it possible not to speak of the reasons for such a phenomenon either at assemblies or meetings of the party bureau.

Even plenums are rare in a number of raykoms. In those rayons even the party committees in the primary organizations cannot find work for themselves in this difficult situation. And that is the reason party organizations that find themselves in this difficult situation deserve more respect. N. Nbyte, secretary of the party organization of the Sovkhoz [state farm] "Lapushin," Khynchestskiy Rayon, explained to the delegates that the communists consider one of their most important jobs to be the dissemination of the party press inasmuch as this is not an easy task now.

"For the time being," said the speaker, "the party press is the sole means of consolidating the communists."

The party is strong first and foremost through its foundation—the primary organizations. They feel rather uncomfortable when today's organs of authority demand the depoliticization of labor collectives and place restrictions on professions because of political convictions. There are only two facts that were cited at the conference. Regardless of the opinion of the Kelerashskiy administration of people's education, the session of the Sipotenskiy rural soviet, under pressure from above, did not confirm honored teacher of the republic P. Draganyuk for the post of candidate member of the bureau of the party raykom. They also did not give a vote of confidence to communist G. Negr, the director of another school.

Are party organizations, which at times are weakened by demarcations according to nationality or political motive, in a position to defend the individual? It is true that there are the kind of primary and rayon party organizations that have found their place in the complicated, changeable world. The party organization in the Kolkhoz [collective farm] "30 Years of Victory" in Yedinetskiy Rayon has gained prestige. Here the communists actively work at the formation of new economic relations inside the kolkhoz, and resolve questions associated with the social protection of kolkhoz members during the transition to a market, urging management and the trade unions to take practical steps in this direction. The party committee of this kolkhoz developed a political program of actions of the primary party organizations associated with the socioeconomic development of the village. This program has become close not only to the communists but to all villagers who took part in its discussion.

And, of course, there is much that promises an increased role of the communists in the activity of the soviets. While there are examples of interesting and useful work of members of the party in the soviets of rural rayons, this cannot be said for the party members who are sitting in parliament. The forces of the communists in the republic Supreme Soviet are disunited and their activity ineffective.

The delegates of the conference adopted the Rules of the Communist Party of Moldova, and a number of other documents.

Contrary to forecasts, the conference came out for unity in the ranks. This, probably, is the most important service of its participants. The communists remain together with the people, and with its concerns and needs.

Local Government Reform in Moldova Planned

91UN0832A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
1 Feb 91 Union Edition p 2

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent E. Kondratov: "Reform of Local Authority Being Prepared in Moldova"]

[Text] Kishinev—**The discussion lasted two days, and 30 deputies spoke, but they did not even vote for the draft law—they returned it to the commission for additional work. After several days, it appeared on the agenda once again. And again it went out for additional work. Not only the forms but also the content of tomorrow's structures of state authority will depend on whether the deputies adopt it or not.**

The law proposes the elimination of village soviets and rayons, and their replacement by communes, volosts, and uyezds. A commune will include either a large village or several villages. In contrast to the village soviet, the commune, it appears, will be given genuine self-government and municipal property. The state will transfer land, water, and forests to it. Kolkhozes, enterprises, and private proprietors will pay it taxes. The budget of the commune will also be replenished owing to ecological, administrative, and other fines it has established. The commune will be able to get credit in the bank, have foreign currency, conclude economic agreements, create its own enterprises, and trade and cooperate with other communes and cities.

The commune will be headed by an elected mayor [primar]—the most respected of its residents. Communal advisers, who are also elected, will themselves decide how many accountants, policemen, notaries, and other paid officials will be needed by the mayor.

The structure of the self-government of small cities is expected to be approximately this: A soviet, office of the mayor [primeriya], and the mayor.

A different principle is established in the system of management of a large administrative unit—the judet (uyezd). It consists of several abolished rayons, and also cities, in addition to Kishinev and Tiraspol. The prefect of an uyezd in the rank of a member of the government must execute the supreme executive authority in the region. The prime minister of the republic nominates his candidacy from among the uyezd advisers, which is then confirmed by the Supreme Soviet. It has not yet been determined into how many uyezds it is proposed to divide Moldova, apparently seven to 10. Also, there is no talk of their centers. One thing is clear: With the change in the administrative division of the republic, the rayon and city soviets will lose their authoritative functions. They simply will be no more. The rayons as a territorial formation will be transformed into volosts, where the executive authority will be exercised by the state apparatus of a magistracy [preturiya] headed by a magistrate [pretor] appointed by the prefect. That is, there will be no elected organs in volosts. The magistrate is charged with overseeing the fulfillment of decisions of the republic and uyezd institutions of authority. The mayors of Kishinev and Tiraspol—the two municipalities—will also become members of the government and also will be appointed by the parliament on the recommendation of the prime minister. That, in general outline, is the structure of the proposed local self-government, which is intended to reinforce executive authority in Moldova, according to the concept of its authors. The authors of the draft law, and the deputies supporting them, essentially represent the "Club of Democrats"—a parliamentary group of the People's Front.

Supporters of the Law: "The People Will Approve This Path"[subhead]

As formerly, the present local organs of authority—"the legacy of a bankrupt regime"—are directing a compact republic through 55 city and rayon soviets, smothering popular initiative, and facilitating the operation of the mechanism of a bureaucratic dictatorship. The party nomenklatura is seeking shelter in the soviets and opposing democratic changes. Today, Moldova is overrun with managers, and the maintenance of 256 members of rayon presidiums and more than 10,000 employees of ispolkoms [executive committees] costs 50 million rubles [R]. On the average, a rayon has 160 administrators. Reform will reduce up to 1,500 bureaucrats, and will save R8-9 million.

But the main thing is that reform will eliminate dual authority, which has plunged the republic into anarchy. In Moldova, the soviets frequently do not execute the laws adopted by parliament or the instructions of the government, and communications between the legislative and executive authorities have been disrupted. "The deadening structure of administrative feudalism prevents Moldova from climbing out of the cesspool of socialism" and living like the civilized world. "The Soviet empire does not desire to lose authority over the colonies," and it is interested in infinitely inflated staffs. Proclaiming the slogan "All Power to the Soviets," the question should be asked "What kind?" Possibly with the kind the mafia frequently uses to rule, forces that are anticonstitutional and that oppose the government? "It is not necessary to intimidate the parliament and the people with 'sacred cows,' and with a rejection of the very designation of 'Soviet power.'" What is more important is the true content of the sovereignty of the people.

And it is exactly in the commune that it flourishes through the free activity of its citizens. In the end, they gain the right to solve their own problems independently. It is true that in connection with the law the political activity of local organs must be prohibited, but this, in the opinion of the authors, will also be supported by the people. "The yearning for political activity" which is being demonstrated by the opponents of the new law is nothing other than an obstinate refusal to submit to democratic changes. But the managers of communes and cities will do superbly without participation in political

maneuvers and without nitpicking attacks on existing laws. The republic should have one legislative organ—its Supreme Soviet—and the local authorities should be its executors.

The psychology of the worker will also change. Ordinary people thirst to have as their leader a genuinely zealous boss who guarantees them order and prosperity.

The judets (uyezds) will promote this. They will become operational centers of the economic and cultural development of all regions of Moldova. The prefects—"territorial ministers"—possessing real authority and realizing their responsibility to the parliament, will become consistent conductors of state policy and the laws of Moldova. The volost chiefs appointed by them—the magistrates with their offices—will be the connecting link between the self-governing communes and the office of the prefect.

The supporters of the law on self-government are convinced that a large part of the population will support their idea, which responds to the traditions of the Moldovan people. There is no need to conduct a referendum: The division into uyezds and volosts will also be accepted by the peasants, because it has historical-national roots that go back to centuries past. The intelligentsia is also for the reform, because similar management of large administrative entities has shown a high viability in developed countries.

Position of the Opponents: "This Will Be a Dictatorship of Bureaucrats"

Yes, reform is needed: 40 rayons with staffs of administrators—this is too much for Moldova. It can be cut in half. Indeed, everything is not going well with the executive operations of the soviets: It is necessary to remove superfluous elements (for example, the presidiums, and transfer the duties and rights of the chiefs of ispolkoms to chairmen). But to undertake a radical breakup of the entire existing system and to redraw the map of the republic, especially at a time of crisis in the economy, is suicidal.

And the concurrence of the people should be requested. Of the Gagauz, who are living with the idea of autonomy. Of the multinational population of the rayons of the Dnestr area. It is difficult to imagine what social outbursts the adoption of the law is fraught with, whose essence is the "complete dismantling of the democratically elected soviets, the elimination of the sovereignty of the people, and the replacement of the sociopolitical structure in Moldova."

In what way did the local soviets not please the legislators? In their impotence? But it comes from their illegality. Contrary to the law on increasing the role of the soviets, they were deprived of many rights in Moldova: The organs of Internal Affairs, control, and tax inspection were removed from their subordination. Even the editors of rayon newspapers are now confirmed by parliament. The new organs of soviet authority, in fact, did not succeed in becoming an authority and using it. Barely getting out from under the party press, they are doomed to become a victim of bureaucratic dictates. Democracy, which became victorious for the first time in seven decades, will be reduced to nothing by the new law. No kind of super-wise state bureaucrat can know the life of the region and the needs of its population better than a deputy elected by them and trusted by the people.

A bureaucratic regime—prefects and magistrates assigned from above—will render future organs of self-government without rights as well. They have only to be obedient. The prohibition against making any kind of a political decision denotes a prohibition against different thinking. The people will lose the right to express their dissatisfaction with the government and its functionaries through electoral organs. Now, no matter how much the peasants grumble, for example, the magistracy elected by them will not dare to assert itself. Organs of self-government that are objectionable to the administrators can be simply dissolved. Is this not really political dictatorship that is damned by us?

And not only political... The prefect of an uyezd who is liked by the government, who is assigned colossal powers and unlimited executive authority, will be practically unaccountable to the people, perhaps even more so than the former "rayon boss." His errors and petty tyranny can cost too much for the average person. His voice will not be heard in the atmosphere of servility, which is characteristic of any administrative command system. The three- tiered sequence of complaints and requests—through the office of the mayor, the magistrate, and the prefect—will engender hitherto unseen red tape, dedicated to the slogan "All Power to the Bureaucrat." The promise to transfer all office procedures to the magistracy is utopian. There are not enough of those notaries today even for the rayons, for example.

And will the approaching administrative reform be cheap? The wrecking of the existing structure during a huge budget deficit will inevitably push the republic into a financial hole. Of course, it is possible to refer to national traditions and historical continuity. But the Bessarabian peasants still remember the charm of the ferocious authority of the prewar magistrates and prefects. Should they not be asked in a referendum: Do they want to repeat the past?

These are the arguments that both sides cited from the rostrum at the session. But something else sounded hidden. The advocates of reform believe that their opponents are guided by entirely different motives: The rayon soviet party bureaucracy fears losing its chairs, the administrators fear the strong hand of the government, and the non-Moldavian population fears the natural official priority of the indigenous nation. But the opponents of the law are convinced that the proposed reform is a major step toward the perestroyka of Moldova in the Romanian pattern. And one more thing is clear: For the deputies, it is important in principal who specifically will manage the implementation of this reform. They

demand that its implementation be preceded by the transfer of executive authority to the president of Moldova. This is the political underpinning of the discussions.

Ukrainian CP Issues Statement on Referendum

LD0402223691 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 4 Feb 91

[Text] Without the conclusion of a new Union treaty and the preservation of the multiethnic Soviet state, it is impossible to stabilize the political and economic situation, to insure civic peace, and emerge from the dangerous deadlock in which both the country as a whole and our republic have found themselves, says a statement by the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party devoted to the coming all-Union referendum on the question of preserving the USSR.

It stresses that never before has the country faced a choice of such historic significance. Attention is drawn to the danger of imparting an ethnic slant to all of today's difficulties and contradictions. The Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party considers that it could be based on the draft proposed by the president of the USSR, but with substantial reworking and deepening. Above all, before the signing of a new treaty it is necessary to clearly delimit the powers of the Union and the republic.

Ukraine Organizations Comment on Union Referendum

LD0502075491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1805 GMT 4 Feb 91

[Text] [no dateline as received] The Narodnaya Rada [People's Council]—an opposition minority within the Ukrainian legislature—and the Rukh, Ukrainian Popular Movement for Perestroyka, regard the holding of a referendum among citizens on the issue of preserving the USSR as "unconstitutional." In the view of leaders of these formations, only republics—and not their citizens—can be the subject of a union. They stated this at a news conference devoted to the opening of the third session of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet today.

The speeches underlined the fact that before the referendum on the future of the Union is held, an all-Ukrainian poll should be carried out which would determine the destiny of the Republic, whether or not it should be independent. Only an independent state, and not the center, can adopt a decision on cooperation or on entering a certain community.

Touching upon Narodnaya Rada's activity within the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, Chairman Igor Yukhnovskiy said that it is directed at the creation of an independent Ukrainian state.

Also, journalists were informed on the results of the scientific and practical conference held the other day by the Council of Rukh collegia, the Narodnaya Rada, the Association of Democratic Soviets of the Ukraine, and the Public Committee for the Renewal of the Ukrainian Armed Forces. Its participants came to the conclusion that without armed forces of its own, the Ukraine would not be able to become a complete state, a subject of international law, and they adopted a corresponding appeal to the Republican Supreme Soviet.

Ukrainian CP CC Comments on New Union Treaty

LD0502094891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1406 GMT 4 Feb 91

[Text] Kiev, 4 Feb (IKRINFORM-TASS)—The stabilization of the political and economic situation and ensuring civil peace and emergence from the dangerous impasse in which both the country as a whole and our republic have found themselves, are impossible without concluding a new union treaty. This is said in a statement circulated here today by the Central Committee [CC] of the Communist Party of Ukraine devoted to the forthcoming all-Union referendum on the question of preserving the USSR.

We must not destroy what has already been created, but, using all of the best from past experience, we must renew the Union on the bases of free choice, universal accord, and equal-rights cooperation. A new voluntary treaty should be the legal foundation of this treaty. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine considers that one can put at its basis the draft proposed by the USSR president, but with substantial additional work and depth.

The form of the state structure of the USSR, its management and powers, the concept of Union property, and the coorelation of federal and republican laws, should be defined more clearly. Undoubtedly the new Union treaty must also envisage the right of the free departure of republics from the USSR.

The Communist Party of Ukraine favors the concluding of a new union treaty on conditions equal for all subjects and is ready to cooperate in the implementation of it with all social and political organizations and healthy forces which in their policy and practical work defend the fundamental interests of the people of Ukraine.

Use of Firearms by Patrols Forbidden in Kiev

LD0402180591 Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] Mykola Hrabar, deputy of the Kiev City Council, has revealed that a decision has been adopted forbidding militiamen and military servicemen from using automatic firearms, armored carriers, or other combat machinery within the boundaries of Kiev while on joint patrol duty. General Nedrygaylo, chief of the Kiev city interior Directorate, has been made personally responsible for carrying out this decision.

Ukrainian Republican Party Profiled

LD0502095391 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2140 GMT 4 Feb 91

[Report by correspondent Petr Savchak from the "Television News Service"]

[Text] The Ukrainian Republican Party—abbreviated as URP—was born in Lvov on the basis of the former Ukrainian Helsinki Union. The URP is called a parliamentary party. It has a membership of about 6,000 people; it occupies second place after the Communist Party of the Ukraine, and it categorically rejects all the latter's program documents. The URP strategy is the creation of an independent conciliatory [sobornoy] law-governed Ukraine. As to its tactical actions, they are the following: the dismantling of the old bureacratic structures of government in all spheres of public life, the setting up of free trade unions, provision for the mechanism for coordinating the actions of the newly elected democratic soviets, and so on.

Ukrainian Minister Faults Central Energy Policy

AU0502132191 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 5 Feb 91

[Report by Franz-Josef Hutter on a news conference by Ukrainian Energy Minister Vitaliy Sklyarov in Salzburg on 5 February—recorded; Sklyarov's statements in Russian with subsequent German translation]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Since yesterday, Vitaliy Sklyarov, energy minister of the Soviet Republic of the Ukraine, has been staying in Salzburg. The man from Kiev comes from the region where the disasterous Chernobyl reactor is located, and it is his task to reform the energy policy of this region. Sklyarov has made sure that he will get Austrian help to do that. A corresponding contract was signed today and the guest from the Soviet Union will spend the next few days visiting energy facilities in Austria.

Today he faced the public, and Franz-Josef Hutter from the Salzburg studio attended the news conference for us. [passage omitted]

[Hutter] At a news conference today, Energy Minister Vitaliy Sklyarov explained the background of the deal [to form a joint venture with Austrian companies]. The Ukrainian Republic has decided to close down all nuclear facilities by 1995. At the moment energy is mainly produced by thermal power plants, which has disastrous effects on the environment. During winter, in the Ukraine alone 200,000 tonnes of heavy oil and 200,000 tonnes of coal are burned per day. The turnaround in Ukrainian energy policy took place after the events at the end of April 1986, after the explosion of the nuclear reactor in Chernobyl.

Today Energy Minister Sklyarov did not spare criticism of Soviet energy policy and of the military.

[Begin Sklyarov recording] I understand that a fateful mistake was made in the upper bodies of our government, that neither from the moral nor the ethical viewpoint are we mature enough to operate such an energy facility without any danger. These facilities really have an enormous destructive power. I understand that the normal process of evolution was destroyed by the armament industry. If the military had not intefered, nuclear fission and nuclear energy as a technical invention would still be just in the laboratory. [end recording]

Specifically, the Ukrainian energy minister criticized the fact that a plutonium factory for the military is being operated in Chernobyl. By 1995 all reactor units will be closed down, but it is completely unknown how the enormous amounts of radioactive material are to be disposed of, the energy minister admitted today.

'Unique' Chernobyl Sightseeing Tours Planned

LD0202211591 Moscow TASS in English 2044 GMT 2 Feb 91

[Text] Moscow February 2 TASS—The tourist and excursion association Kievturist intends to open a new tourist route—to the contaminated areas of the Ukraine.

The route is really unique, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA wrote today. It includes the dead city of Chernobyl, the village of Kopachi with a radioactive waste burial, a construction site of the former third stage of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant with a panorama of the power plant, the sarcophagus and Slavutich, a town for power engineering workers where, according to a local saying, "life is good, but too short". Thorough dosimetric control is envisaged before and after the trip. If necessary, a tourist will be sent to a radiological centre without additional payment. Daily trips that cost not very much—only 25 roubles per person, have already been tested by guides.

According to the newspaper, it is probably an original way to observe the fifth anniversary of the Chernobyl accident that falls due on April 26.

Ukraine To Punish Radiation Regulation Violators

LD0302093891 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 3 Feb 91

[Text] The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet presidium has adopted a decree on responsibility for violation of radiation safety regulations requirements for state purchase and processing of excessively radioactive, polluted food. There are fines—and in certain cases, imprisonment—for bringing construction materials, equipment, and other property from radioactive polluted areas without the instituted controls.

Radiation 'Flare-Up' in Transcarpathian Region

PM0502124991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Feb 91 Union Edition p 1

[INTERFAX Report: "Flare-Up of Radioactivity in the Ukraine"]

[Text] Transcarpathian Sanitary Service associates have recorded a sharp increase of radioactivity in the atmosphere. According to information from staffers of the service, the radiation was caused by a cloud whose origin is still unknown. Scientists and specialists are being brought in to analyze the prevailing situation, INTERFAX reports.

Gubanov Describes Chernobyl Clean-up Program

LD0502184291 Moscow TASS in English 1834 GMT 5 Feb 91

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Surzhansky]

[Text] Moscow February 5 TASS—According to preliminary data, 72,700 residents left contaminated areas last year alone, Viktor Gubanov, chairman of the Soviet governmental committee monitoring the implementation of the 1990-1992 state programme for the elimination of the aftermath of the breakdown at the Chernobyl nuclear power station, told journalists today.

Out of 29,000 people living in areas with increased density of contamination (over 40 curies per square kilometre), 26,900 people have been already relocated, he added.

Expenses connected with the relocation of people will be fully compensated by the state. People will be entitled to benefits and provided with housing accommodation, Gubanov said.

All people are expected to be relocated in 1991 from areas with soil radioactivity exceeding permissible norms. Provision has been made to relocate people from less-contaminated territories (from 15 to 40 curies) by 1992. Not less than 140,000 people are expected to be relocated from such areas.

This year 10.3 billion roubles will be assigned for clean-up operations, as against 1.1 billion in 1989 and 2.2 billion roubles in 1990. In all, 9.2 billion roubles have been spent on clean-up operations since the accident occurred, Gubanov said.

A Chernobly accident-related bill intended to ensure the social protection of the population has already been submitted to the Soviet parliament's consideration, and a long-term programme for the elimination of the aftermath of the Chernobyl accident has been elaborated, committee spokesmen told journalists.

Caucasus

Armenian Independence Sought Without Confrontation

NC0402182091 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 31 Jan 91

[Text] Vazgen Manukyan, chairman of the Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers, received Charles Robin Ashwin, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Australia to the USSR, on 31 January. Present at the meeting were: Chiftalaryan, first deputy chairman of the Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers; Stepanyan, minister of foreign economic relations of the Armenian Republic; and Yegiazaryan, deputy foreign minister.

After greeting the guest, the prime minister informed him about the current situation in and future development prospects for Armenia. The prime minister said: Armenia has initiated the process for independent statehood and aims to become one of the fully democratic states of the world. The people have resolutely voted in favor of independence, but we do not treat the process of independence as a theatrical performance. We aim to achieve it through the minimum confrontation with the center. While chaos, rallies, and demonstrations continue in the various Soviet republics, our people have already gone through this phase, and each day is calmer than the previous one.

In reply to the ambassador's inquiry as to which direction Armenia's economy will take, Vazgen Manukyan noted: We are taking the first important steps toward private ownership. The Armenian legislature has already examined the land code which will introduce the private land ownership system. By economic independence we do not, of course, mean the severance of economic ties with the other Soviet republics. Instead, we aspire to deepen these ties and to establish new relations. We also pin hopes on the other states of the world. Regarding economic development, however, we should not rely on foreign aid but on our own efforts—we ourselves should extricate Armenia from the impasse and transform it into one of the crossroads of international trade.

Finally, Vazgen Manukyan conveyed his satisfaction over Charles Robin Ashwin's visit and expressed the Armenian people's gratitude to the Australian people and government for the support given to earthquake-stricken Armenia.

Armenian Opinion Poll Rates Politicians, Parties

NC0502120791 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 1 Feb 91

[By ARMENPRES correspondent Satenik Akobyan, "Popularity Rating"]

[Text] Yerevan, 1 Feb (ARMENPRES)—The Sociology Group at the "Elton" scientific-technical creative youth center organized an opinion poll in Yerevan by asking

questions on the telephone in order to ascertain popularity ratings. The Armenian Youth Union's Russian-language weekly EPOKHA has published some of the results of this opinion poll in which two questions were asked: "Which Armenian politicians do you trust most?" and "Which Armenian political party or public organization do you support?"

These questions were put to 330 people: 179 women and 151 men. No data are given on age, education, profession, or social status.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet, is way ahead of other political competitors. In favor of him were 133 people—77 women and 56 men—or 40 percent of those polled. The closest to him in popularity was People's Deputy Paruyr Ayrikyan. Only 25 people, or 7.6 percent, expressed trust in him.

The Armenian Pan-National Movement scored a relatively high rating among political parties and public organizations. In all, 73 people, or 22 percent, favored it. The National Self-Determination Association, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, and Democratic Liberal Party are almost enjoying equal popularity. They were favored by 28, 25, and 23 people, or 8, 8, and 7 percent, respectively. The Armenian Communist Party's rating was around 3.3 percent, meaning 11 people favored it.

It was disillusioning, but it is a fact that in these tense ecological times in the republic, the Greens received the support of only 5 people, or 1.5 percent.

The number of those who do not trust any politicians and do not support any political parties is large [as received]: 52 and 91 [numbers as received] people respectively. This attitude is understandable given our chaotic times but something which we have to tackle if we are taking sociology seriously.

What frightened me most was the large percentage of men, 18 to 17 percent, who found it difficult to reply to the questions. Probably these are people who at this fateful moment for the republic always think that developments "do not concern them."

Chairman of Armenian Church Affairs Appointed

NC0502165591 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 5 Feb 91

[Text] [No dateline as received] By a decision on 1 February, the Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers has appointed Lyudvig Artushovich Khachatryan as chairman of the Armenian Church Affairs Council attached to the Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers.

Armenian Agricultural Workers Union Formed

NC0502202791 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1730 GMT 4 Feb 91

[Text] The founding congress of the trade union of workers at the Armenian Republic's agro-industrial complex has taken place. This trade union is the largest public organization in the republic.

The delegates at the congress were infused with awareness of the importance of the moment for the future of our republic, which has been set on the course of independence, and they felt they wanted to participate in this process urgently.

In greeting the bold and exceedingly responsible step taken by the republic's Supreme Soviet and government toward privatization of the land, the delegates at the congress expressed their readiness to actively contribute to the successful organization of that work on the ground.

The congress dissolved the trade union's republican committee and elected a new republican administrative organ for the trade union called the Republican Council for the Trade Union of the Workers at the Armenian Agro-Industrial Complex.

Armenian Land Reform Set To Begin 20 Feb

NC3001130091 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 29 Jan 91

[Text] Yerevan, 29 Jan (ARMENPRES)—The State Central Commission for Land Reform and Privatization attached to the Armenian Republic's Council of Ministers held one of its regular meetings on 26 January under the chairmanship of Grant Bagratyan, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, chairman of the State Committee for Economy, and deputy chairman of the State Central Commission for Land Reform and Privatization.

It was noted at the meeting that the commission members had toured Armenia's rayons with the intent to form local subcommissions and to get acquainted with those problems which are so far contentious and which would be settled by additional sub-legislative acts. The conferees also spoke about the progress of the preparatory work being done in specific rayons and about specific problems in certain localities.

Taking into account the fact that the actual process of the land reform and privatization in the republic will start as of 20 February, the meeting's participants stressed the need for completing the formation of the local subcommissions in the rayons in the next few days and for the work to begin to form the local subcommissions in rural settlements. The meeting also discussed measures to enlighten people about the essence of the laws already adopted or to be adopted, the creation of an explanatory procedure, the delineation of the land plots, the completion of the maps, as well as the partial summation of the

results of the pilot projects in certain settlements, the formulation of possible alternatives for the solution of problems that might arise during the land distribution, and other urgent problems.

Azerbaijan SSR Renamed Republic of Azerbaijan

LD0602110591 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 6 Feb 91

[Text] The Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] has a new name as from today. Now it is called the Republic of Azerbaijan. The decision on this was adopted at the session of its Supreme Soviet. The new tricolor state flag of the Republic of Azerbaijan has been ratified. These changes, introduced in the constitution of the republic, are connected with changes taking place in its public life, the growth of national self-consciousness, and the development of Azerbaijan's statehood. Paying their respects to the past, the people's deputies ratified the resolution of the republican Supreme Soviet on the preservation of the previous two-color state flag as a heritage of the national history of the Azerbaijan people.

Composition of New Azerbaijan Legislature Noted

LD0502104391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1245 GMT 4 Feb 91

[By AZERINFORM-TASS correspondents Ziyadkhan Gasanov and Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku, 4 Feb (TASS)—Tomorrow the first session of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet of the new convocation opens in Baku. It has behind it the longest election campaign in the history of this Transcaucasian Soviet republic. After lasting for almost six months, on 30 December after repeat elections it still did not produce the names of all 360 deputies in the new legislature.

According to data of the Central Election Commission, 340 people's deputies have been elected to the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet so far. They will represent different public organizations, political parties, and movements in the legislature. More than 80 percent of them are communists, which is evidence of the convincing victory at the elections of the republican communist party which favors a sovereign, economically strong Azerbaijan. The opposition in the present Supreme Soviet is represented by approximately 50 deputies from the popular front, the group of social democrats, the Green Party, the union of the democratic intelligentsia, and other social and political organizations in the republic which are now united in the democratic bloc of Azerbaijan.

There are considerably fewer workers and peasants in the new parliament of Azerbaijan. In the main their places have been taken by the heads of agro-industrial enterprises and associations and staff from law and order bodies. More than 100 deputies represent the intelligentsia in the parliament.

As was shown by the election campaign the views of many deputies regarding Azerbaijan's future differ. Some, and they are the majority, supporting the republic's new leadership, are speaking out in favor of democratic transforamtions in policy and the economy. Others who also consider themselves supporters of perestroyka are striving to return to power on the wave of it, and yet others have still not defined their stand precisely.

At the present moment one can only surmise as to how those chosen by the people will manifest themselves at the session. However, one can say with confidence that the future of Azerbaijan, its development and renewal depend on the consolidation of the deputies' corps. The present situation in the republic demands this, when the tense situation continues on the frontier with Armenia and in Nagorno-Karabakh, and the state of emergency is continuing to be in force in Baku and in a number of rural areas.

Azerbaijan Legislature's First Session Opens

LD0502112291 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1012 GMT 5 Feb 91

[By AZERINFORM-TASS correspondents Vagif Rustamov and Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku, 5 Feb (TASS)—The first session of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet of the new convocation opened today in Baku. There are 321 people's deputies taking part in its work.

Deputies are to confirm the temporary regulations for the work of the Supreme Soviet and to elect its chairman and deputies. Around 40 issues will be considered during the course of the session. Among these are issues relating to the change of the republic's name, and state flag, state emblem, and the text of the anthem.

Also submitted for discussion are issues regarding measures for the normalization of the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast of Azerbaijan, changes in the administrative and territorial structure, and improvement of systems of state administration in the republic, the new draft Union treaty, as well as a new draft Azerbaijani alphabet. The legislature is also to elect standing commissions to the Supreme Soviet, to form a cabinet of ministers, and to consider other issues.

In the deputy body are representatives of various public organizations and political parties and movements. More than 80 percent of them are communists. The opposition in the current Supreme Soviet is represented by around 50 deputies from the Popular Front, the Social Democrat group, the "Green" party, the Union of the Democratic Intelligentsia, and other of the republic's sociopolitical organizations which are now united in the Democratic Bloc of Azerbaijan. There are significant fewer workers and peasants in the new Azerbaijan legislature. Their place has been taken, in the main, by leaders of agroindustrial enterprises and associations

and by employees of the law enforcement bodies. More than 100 deputies represent the intelligentsia in the parliament.

Ayaz Mutalibov, the president of Azerbaijan, speaking at the opening of the session, called deputies to [work for] consolidation, which according to him is necessary for the creation of a legal basis of democratic and democratic transformations in politics and economics. To resolve such large-scale tasks, in the president's opinion, domestic and foreign parliamentary experience needs to be skillfully used, including the small, but nevertheless valuable, legacy of the Azerbaijani Democratic Republic which existed from 1918 to 1920.

Deputies honored the memory of the victims of the Baku tragedy of 20 January 1990 with a minute's silence. Shaykh ul-Islam Haji Allashukur Pashezade, head of the Spiritual Directorate of the Muslims of the Transcaucasus, blessed the work of the session.

Tens of Thousands Laid Off in Caucasus Shortages

AU0602084291 Paris AFP in English 0833 GMT 6 Feb 91

[Text] Moscow, Feb 6 (AFP)—Tens of thousands of workers have been laid off or put on short time in the southern Soviet republics of Georgia and Armenia because of power shortages, the media reported here Wednesday [6 February].

In Armenia, the two operating thermal power stations at Yerevan and Razdan hardly generate enough heating for homes, schools and hospitals and many school children have been sent home.

More than 60,000 workers in light industry have been laid off for at least two months because of fuel shortages. Their wages have been cut by a third. Television programmes have also been curtailed in Armenia to save electricity, some of which is now provided from Russia, by way of Georgia.

Two large chemical plants, Luis and Polyvinylacetate, have been closed because of natural gas shortages.

Yevgeniy Petryayev, a Soviet deputy minister for the power industry, said Moscow intends to buy natural gas from Iran to supply the Caucasus region.

Ossetia 'Tense'; Intermovement Issues Statement

LD0502122691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1110 GMT 5 Feb 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 5 Feb (TASS)—The situation in the town of Tskhinvali and South Ossetia as a whole remains extremely tense. For the fourth day running the electricity supply to the towns and rayons of the oblast has been cut. Reserves of essential food products are practically exhausted. This has been reported to a TASS correspondent in the press center of the emergency committee set up under the authority of the chairman of the South Ossetian Supreme Soviet. The population is fortifying barricades in the streets and entrances to Tskhinvali, fearing that Georgian militia and illegal armed formations may be brought in. The attacks by Georgian paramilitary groups on the Ossetian villages in Znaurskiy and Tskhinvalskiy rayons of the oblast are continuing. Under the threat of physical reprisals, the residents are being made to leave their homes, their cattle are being stolen. Persons of Ossetian nationality, residents in other parts of Georgia, as a TASS correspondent reports, are subjected to open discrimination on the part of the authorities. Ossetians who do not support the actions against South Ossetia are being dismissed from their jobs, driven out of their places of residence, and subjected to beatings and robbery. There have been cases of physical reprisals in Tbilisi, Goriyskiy, Bolnisskiy, and other rayons of Georgia. In the oblast hospital in Tskhinvali, more than 180 victims have been registered, including more than 80 cases with bullet wounds. Over 20 Ossetians have died. Forty-seven have been taken hostage by the Georgian paramilitaries. Some people are reported missing. The leaders of the North Ossetian Soviet Socialist Republic have taken concrete measures to give humanitarian aid to the population of South Ossetia.

In connection with the situation in South Ossetia, the organizational buro of the USSR Intermovement has adopted a statement which says in particular: "Women, old people, and children are freezing in cold houses, serious difficulties have arisen with the supply of drinking water, and enterprises have stopped.

The internal troops of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] are doing everything in their power to alleviate people's suffering. However, their capabilities cannot fully make up for the shortage of energy resources. We are far from thinking that such actions, unworthy of the freedom-loving Georgian people directed against the likewise freedom-loving Ossetian people, are really supported by all power engineering workers, and, moreover, all the people of Georgia.

We call on all participants in this interethnic and political conflict to exercise restraint and wisdom. There has been enough bloodshed and suffering. Let peace triumph."

Central Asia

Kazakh CP Takes Over Republic Newspapers

PM0502121191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Feb 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by Oleg Stefashik under the "Direct Link" rubric: "Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Decision"]

[Text] Karaganda—The Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee has announced its decision to become from 1 February the sole founder of the republic social and political newspapers KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA and SOTSIALISTIK KAZAKHSTAN.

Until very recently the republic Supreme Soviet, and a little earlier the republic Council of Ministers, were these newspapers' joint owners. At the end of last year they agreed to participate in the joint publication of press organs. At the same time, at a Supreme Soviet session, deputies confirmed their firm intention to keep these papers as joint publications. But on 8 January a session of the republic Communist Party Central Committee Politburo decided to change the status of the newspapers, making them into party newspapers.

At an enlarged session the Kazakhstan Supreme Soviet Presidium subsequently assented to this decision. The attempts of a number of deputies and also of journalists to oppose it were unsuccessful...

According to U. Dzhanibekov, secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee, the cofounders had pulled out from financing the papers. But, as KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA journalists reported to IZVESTIYA, the motivation was actually somewhat different. At a meeting with the editorial collective V. Anufriyev, second secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, told them right out: "We need a newspaper like SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA.... It is time that we finished with pseudodemocracy and with all these Popovs and Sobchaks."

Moscow TV Spot Features Kazakh Private Factory

PM0402151191 Moscow Central Television Vostok Program and Orbita Networks in Russian 1530 GMT 31 Jan 91

[Report by G. Sytykh from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] [Announcer] The first small private enterprise in Karaganda has been created. Our correspondent has sent us a report which cannot be called anything other than an ode to private enterprise. Personally, I would be more restrained and less positive about it, because our private enterprise workers are still working in inadequate conditions. When a proper market emerges with its prices and its requirements as regards quality and efficiency, then we will see who is worth how much, so to speak. But for the time being, thank God, there are people who just know how to work well.

[Sytykh] I did not see any slogans here calling on people to make the most of every minute. But people work productively without interruptions or long breaks, and it is not because someone is keeping a close watch on them. The main stimulus is personal interest. The enterprise produces all kinds of plumbing components in short supply. And it could supply the whole of Kazakhstan with them. But there are difficulties with raw materials. The people employed here are intelligent and squeeze unprecedented productivity out of the old-fashioned machine tools. And no one worries about wage rates. They are not afraid that these will be cut. The more you work the more you earn. We spoke to Vitaliy Fedoseyev and discussed what he should be called: director, founder, chairman, owner, or proprietor? We decided that proprietor is the most accurate. The only thing is that we are not used to this term somehow.

[Fedoseyev] Being proprietor does not mean throwing your weight around but having a managerial attitude to matters.

[Sytykh] Yes, he is the proprietor. And he has 12 hired workers. Attitudes to this are ambiguous. Stereotypes of the owner as exploiter and extortioner and the worker as having no rights are still all too strong. Vitaliy Andreyevich noted bitterly that even his children are embarassed to say at school that their father is the owner of an enterprise. But after all, he is an educated engineer and has organized his business well to his own benefit and the benefit of society. And incidentally, Fedoseyev provides free meals for his workers and intends to construct housing for them. [passage omitted]

Independent Radio Broadcasts From Khabarovsk

OW0602102591 Khabarovsk Television Service in Russian 1025 GMT 14 Jan 91

[From the "Dalniy Vostok" program]

[Text] A few days before the new year the first independent radio station—Region, Dalniy Vostok, Rossiya—appeared on the air. The shortwave broadcasts originate in Khabarovsk.

Vladivostok Plans International Phone Exchange

OW0602102391 Khabarovsk Television Service in Russian 1025 GMT 14 Jan 91

[From the "Dalniy Vostok" program]

[Text] A decision has been adopted on building an international telephone communications station in Vladivostok. This will be a joint Soviet-Japanese project; if everything goes according to plan, the station will be commissioned as early as next year.

Tajik Agriculture Ministry Replaces Committee

PM0502151591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Feb 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by Aleksandr Karpov under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Ministry of Agriculture Revived"]

[Text] Dushanbe—The republic agro-industrial committee has been abolished by a Tajik SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] presidential decree.

The Ministry of Agriculture has been revived to replace the cumbersome State Agro-Industrial Committee structure, which had become outdated amid the transition to market relations. As D. Karimov, first deputy chairman of the republic Cabinet of Ministers, reported, the Ministry of Agriculture will unite several subdivisions with clearly defined functions, and will be geared not to the administrative and economic leadership of the agro-industrial complex, but to the running of the sector with the help of economic levers.

Uzbekistan's Khalilov on Union Treaty, Army

PM0502145391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Jan 91 First Edition p 1

[Interview with Erkin Khalilov, chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order, by correspondent Lieutenant Colonel V. Astafyev under the rubric "The Union Treaty: View From the Republics"; place, date not given: "On the Basis of Sovereign Interests"]

[Text] [Astafyev] How do you feel about the idea of concluding a new Union treaty and how do you see the renewed Union in the light of this treaty?

[Khalilov] In view of the trends of international integration processes, I think that the interests of our country's peoples dictate the need to preserve the Union as a multiethnic state. But this Union must be fundamentally different from the Union to which the republics have belonged until now—in both its form and its nature. First and foremost, it must be a union of truly sovereign states, founded strictly on the voluntary principle, mutual benefit, and freedom of national self-determination. In other words, our Union needs to be renewed, and this must be given legal form by concluding a new treaty.

Radical reform intends broadening the confederative component within the framework of a federation. In other words, a union of sovereign states is not a federation in the traditional understanding of the word, but nor is it a confederation in its classical form. It must be a new formation built on genuinely democratic principles, of which the most important—I repeat—is the voluntary presence of its members and their reserved right to leave the Union if they should wish.

One of the main questions today is the correlation between the powers of the Union and the powers of the republics. The Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Declaration of Sovereignty touches on the main problems which determine the nature of the relationship between the Union and the republic. Working on the basis of this document of ours, and also the provisions contained in other republic declarations of state sovereignty, I would venture to deduce the attitude of the majority of the Union republics to the renewed Union. It must serve the aims of strengthening the republics' independence and must have authority in matters decided by Union bodies in the general interests of all of the Union's members. Moreover, each member of the new formation must be involved in deciding these matters in the Union's state bodies.

[Astafyev] Has your republic offered any proposals or changes regarding the draft Union treaty?

[Khalilov] In our view, the published draft Union treaty is far from perfect. Proposals made by our republic have been introduced in every section and also in the preamble to this document. We have our own views on most of the norms incorporated in the draft. It is not possible to comment on all of our proposals in an interview, so I shall briefly set out my opinion on the draft as a whole.

You get the impression that the authors of the document worked on it without having any specific concept in mind. Hence the many vague points in the text. So, before beginning work on the draft, we must clearly define the concept on which it is based. The first thing to do is to define the range of parties to the Union treaty. Will the Union republics be its only members? Or will the autonomous republics also be direct members of the Union?

In my opinion, the second option will inevitably lead to the Union republics' sovereignty being ignored. If you regard the Union as a complex state formation whose elements are sovereign states, autonomous formations within this system are elements of the Union's components. Consequently, the development of autonomous formations must continue in the conditions created for them by the Union republics. However, this does not rule out the possibility of some autonomous republics' being transformed into Union republics.

When discussing the parties to the future treaty, we must also decide whether the present Union in the shape of the center should be a separate party to its drafting and conclusion. In other words, we must decide how the formula of the components of the Union treaty is going to look: "p + 1" or "p + 0" [allusion unknown]. I think the second option would be more logical. After all, the members are engaged in discussion precisely in order to create a qualitatively new unit. It goes without saying that the presence of the existing Union must be considered when drawing up the draft treaty and concluding it, but, in my opinion, it would be wrong to make it an actual party to the treaty. There is also another point. We must work primarily on the basis of republic declarations of sovereignty. The Union is made up of sovereign states, so there is no need to overburden the Union treaty by describing the powers of its members in it. The document must be concise, although the powers of the Union and joint Union-republic powers should be set out in detail. The Union should be given powers adequate for

realizing its objectives. All remaining powers must belong to its members and be exercized by them.

As far as the powers of the Union are concerned, they must be decided by its members on the basis of consensus, without any coercion. Union organs exercizing these powers must be formed on the basis of equal representation. This is the only way that decisions adopted by the Union are going to be seen as common decisions made by the states belonging to it.

[Astafyev] What do you feel to be the role of the Army and Internal Troops in the renewed Union?

[Khalilov] Guaranteeing security is one of the reasons why the new Union is being formed. Substantial material and creative resources are needed to form and maintain a modern army. Far from every republic has—or will have in the foreseeable future—the resources needed to form and maintain modern armed forces. Consequently, the Union must be responsible for organizing defense, leading the Armed Forces, and safeguarding state security. I will make one proviso, however: Even defense and security are not something that can be implemented without the knowledge of the Union's members.

As far as Internal Troops are concerned, I think members of the Union are in a position to form and maintain their own. But, in my opinion, general methodological assistance from Union organs would only be in the interests of the Union's members.